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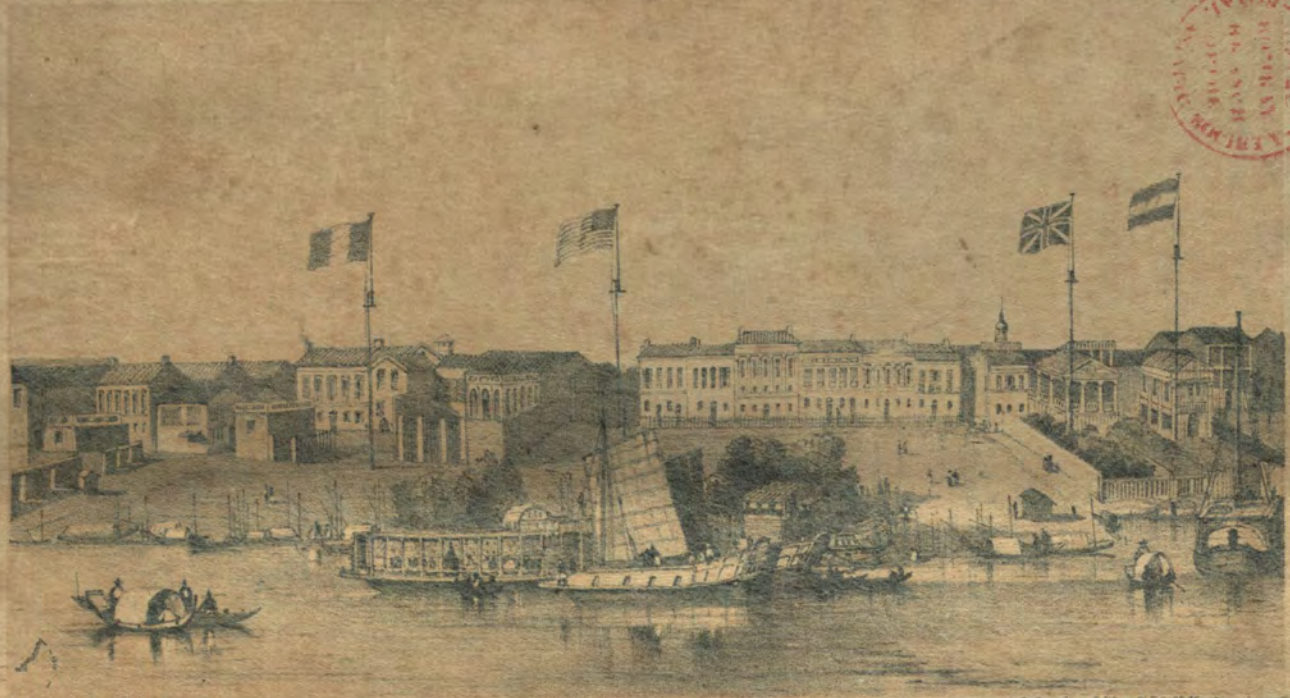

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VIEW of the CITY of CANTON.

(The Factoris)

Ruschenberger's Et By

NARRATIVE

OF

A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD;

DURING THE YEARS 1835, 36, AND 37;

INCLUDING

A NARRATIVE OF

AN EMBASSY TO THE SULTAN OF MUSCAT

AND THE KING OF SIAM.

84572

BY W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER, M.D.,

SURGEON TO THE EXPEDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

The sun had set some time before we had attained even the outskirts of the capital, and the night was so dark that we could form no idea either of its appearance or extent. As we advanced along the last two miles of our voyage, nothing presented itself to our view, except the dark forms of vessels at anchor, and a few scattered lights along shore, and we had become so weary and selfish, that our whole attention was taken up with escaping from the boat of ceremony. It was certain, however, that the capital of the Magnificent King of Siam, did not impress us when seen at night with an idea of its grandeur.

The next day we awoke, strangers in a strange place; certainly the strangest I have ever visited, and sallied forth at an early hour to gratify our curiosity, in relation to a country of which we had heard much. We found the whole entirely new to us:—we saw nothing which is in common with Christian lands. Like Venice, the city seemed to have risen from the waters. Half the population is afloat. In Bankok every thing is peculiar, and though every moment was employed, I feel sure that we saw a very small part of the city, during the time we remained.

Bankok is built upon the river Meinam, at a point where it is about half a mile wide, and perhaps twenty miles in a direct line from the sea. It extends about two miles and a half up and down the river, and from a mile to a mile and a half on each side of it. Bankok proper is on the right or western bank, while that on the left, from the palace being situated there, is named Sia-Yut'hia, but to the eye it appears all one town. It is irregular in its plan and is every where intersected by canals. The streets are dirty and narrow; the paved walk in the middle being scarcely wide enough for two persons to walk abreast. The reason for this, according to the Siamese, is that there are no two of the same rank in the kingdom, and etiquette does

not permit individuals of different degrees to walk side by side! Many of the houses are extensive, but the greater portion of them are miserable bamboo huts, without any appearance of comfort. Trees are every where numerous, and the frequent 'Wâts' or Boudhist temples, with their gilt and glazed tile roofs and spires, sparkling in the sun, give to the city a picturesque appearance, and an air of wealth and magnificence.

Each side of the river is lined with houses, every one a shop, built on rafts of bamboo, moored or staked to the banks. The fronts are open like verandas, wherein various goods are exposed for sale. A row of Chinese junks, from two to six hundred tons each, extend for more than two miles, at anchor in the middle of the stream, where they often remain for months, retailing their cargoes; and though streets, canals, and river are crowded with people and boats, there is neither the bustle nor buzz of the multitude which would be found in an equally dense population in any Christian city. From daylight until dark the river presents an animated scene. The gondolas of this Eastern Venice, called sampans, are of every variety of size, from the mere nutshell, to that moved by half a dozen paddles; and there are some of large dimensions, per-

manently occupied by whole families, along the banks of the canals.

The better sort of sampan is a light canoe, moved by half a dozen or more short paddles, with a covered cabin in the centre, upon the floor of which the passenger reclines, and by drawing the curtains may be entirely concealed. Some are so small, that we are astonished they are capable of floating under the weight of a man, and others again are propelled like the Venetian gondola by a single oar, managed in a row-lock three feet high. The sampan of this description is usually sculled by a woman standing on the stern, without any other garment than a pair of drawers, with the occasional addition of a piece of black crape cast over the shoulders. The body is gently bent forward over the oar, and, to obtain a firm footing, one foot is placed in advance of the other, while the arms, in easy motion, impart speed to the vessel. The attitude and movement of these figures are eminently graceful, as they are seen threading their way through the mazes of junks and sampans of all sizes, which are all day gliding along from point to point, in every direction, and always occupying a very small space. The sampans are admirably adapted to the navigation of the canals and river, as we soon discovered, when

one of our long-oared boats moved among them. They were often upset by us ; but the Siamese always took the mishap in gentleness of spirit, and very quietly swam either to the shore, or to regain the sampan. Living so constantly on the water, they may be said to be a swimming people, though I am told they have a great dread of the sea. They are seen bathing at all times of the day, either swimming, or squatted on the veranda in front of the houses, dipping water out of the river with a basin and pouring it over themselves. Not long ago, Bankok presented the singular phenomenon of an amphibious infant, that forsook the mother's breast, and betook itself to the water on all occasions.

Luck-loi-nam, literally the-child of the waters, swam when she was but one year old, and in 1832, when she had attained three years of age, was frequently seen swimming in the river. Her motions were not like those of other swimmers; she floated without any apparent exertion, turning round and round. When not in the water, she was cross and discontented, and when taken out cried and strove to return; if indulged, she tumbled and rolled about, seemingly with unalloyed pleasure. Luck-loi-nam, though well-formed, could neither walk nor speak, but uttered a gurgling, choking sound in the throat. Her vision was imperfect, and

up to the time mentioned, she had never eaten any thing but her mother's milk. She usually applied to the breast, on being taken out of the river by her own consent. The mother of the child of the waters was a fine-looking woman, and had given birth to four children; two males and two females. The two brothers are dead, and the sister, eight or nine years of age, was always seen swimming in company, to protect the child of the waters against accidents, and give her direction that she might not get too near the boats, or the banks of the river. She has not been lately seen, and is supposed to be dead.

The population of Bankok, according to the Government Census of 1828, amounted to 401,300, and is made up as follows:

Chinese,	310,000
Descendants of Chinese,	50,000
Cochin Chinese,	1,000
Cambodians,	2,500
Siamese,	8,000
Peguans,	5,000
Laos people, (old residents,)	9,000
Do. (new residents,)	7,000
Burmans or Bramas,	2,000
Tavoy people,	3,000
Malays,	3,000
Christians,	800
Total,	401,300

A tax of about three dollars is levied upon every China-man on entering the country, and is afterwards exacted triennially, which secures to him the privilege of following any trade or craft according to his pleasure, and also exempts him from the half-yearly servitude, required by the King from every other Oriental stranger resident in Siam. In 1836, the Chinese population had increased to four hundred thousand, so that we may safely state the city of Bankok contains half a million of inhabitants.

The Chinese residents are chiefly from Teo-Chew, a subdivision of the Canton province; but numbers from Hainan, Canton, and Seang-Hae, annually visit the place, and from the manner of conducting their commercial voyages, remain there from February until May or June. The number of junks in the river during that season is from thirty to seventy, each carrying from twenty to one hundred and thirty men.

Most of the mechanics, agriculturists, and tradesmen of Bankok are China-men. They are cheerful and industrious, but for want of other modes of diverting their leisure hours, they are addicted to gambling and libertinism. The tax on Chinese and other gambling-houses in the capital brings a considerable revenue to the Government.

The commerce of Siam with other countries than China is very limited, though her internal resources for foreign trade appear to be every way ample. Within a few years it has increased with Singapore, which serves as an entrepôt between it and Europe, as well as the United States, to a considerable extent. In 1826, a treaty was concluded between the English and His Magnificent Majesty, and the ratification of a treaty with the United States has just been exchanged. The advantages of this treaty, though not immediately apparent, may be in future very great. At one time no less than 2200 tons of American shipping were employed in the Siamese trade; but owing to the numerous and irregular exactions made in form of duties, presents, &c., to the delays incident to the slow mode of conducting business, being obliged almost always to make up the cargo by small purchases from different individuals, and to the rapid advance in the price of sugar when in demand, it dwindled away to nothing, and the commercial world in the United States almost lost sight of Siam. The Sacham, Captain Coffin, who introduced the Siamese Twins to the world, and the Maria Theresa, Captain O. Taylor, (now at Bankok,) are the only American vessels which have entered the Meinam, since

1828, a period of eight years; and probably the last-named vessel would not have ventured, had the commander been ignorant of the visit of the Peacock and its object. As will be seen in the sequel, the chief obstacles in the way of a profitable trade between the United States and Siam, namely, irregular and exorbitant charges, have been removed by the provisions of the treaty alluded to, and under its protection, the commerce may revive in a short time, and then the merchants of Bankok may perceive their interests in facilitating the business of those who come to buy or sell.

Siam is too distant for the Americans to send there, only, to purchase her products, most of which may be now obtained at Singapore for a small advance, and sugar, the staple article, can be obtained much nearer home; but she requires the American manufactures to supply her numerous though wretched population, and on the system of exchange only, can they hope to derive any solid advantage from commerce with so remote a country.

Nations as well as individuals are often deeply affected by the influence of example, though they may be too proud to acknowledge it, and are brought to the admission of principles and of the actions resulting from them, which without

this influence they would have long resisted. It is true the prejudices of the Asiatics generally against all Christians, are so peculiar and so strong, that example may not have so extended an effect with them as among people of other nations; nevertheless, it cannot fail to exercise a powerful influence. The intercourse between Siam and Cochin China, has been until the present war very frequent; it is also common between these two countries and China, and occasionally even with Japan. Should the Siamese derive a profitable trade under the provisions of the treaty, it will be perceived by their neighbours, and among commercial nations whose acquisitive faculties are large and active; to perceive a source of emolument is but a step short of desiring it for themselves.

The conclusion to be drawn, if these premises be correct, is, that this treaty will be the remote means of opening a wide field to American enterprise, and of new markets for her growing manufactures, and the increasing products of her extensive soil.

The chief merchants of Siam are the King, his ministers, the Chinese, and old women. They require from Europe and the United States arms and ammunition; perhaps a few military ornaments, coarse cutlery, glass ware, white cotton

goods, which should not be less than two cubits in width; cotton twist, from No. 20 to 30; Siamese dresses, three yards long by forty inches broad, in star patterns, on red, green, and blue grounds, which colours should be bright; long ells, red and green; furniture chintz; ladies' cloth, red, yellow, green, light purple, and light blue; steel, in small bars, the size of nail iron, which for this market should be put up in tubs instead of cases, one hundred of which are enough at a time. American cottons are now sought for, though afforded at a higher price, because they have been found to be much more durable. There is an opening for the introduction of American cottons, through Bankok, to the countries lying north of Siam.*

For the above articles they offer in exchange, sugars, tin, ivory, sappan wood, (*Cæsalpina sappan,*) rosewood, rattans, a variety of drugs, iron of a superior quality, &c. Sugar, the staple article, is at an average price of eight ticâls per picul of 133⅓lbs., and may be put on board for about five dollars per hundred: whether it will yield profit at this price, after paying freight,

* For this commercial information I am indebted to Mr. R. Hunter, a commission merchant of several years' residence at Bankok, who kindly placed his manuscript diary in my hands, with permission to extract whatever I might think interesting.

home duties, interest, insurance, &c., I am not merchant enough to decide.

Though the duties stipulated for in the treaty may appear high at first sight, 4275 dollars on a vessel measuring 25 feet beam, they will be found not to exceed ten or twelve per cent. on a valuable cargo.

An estimate of the Siamese revenue and resources of trade may be formed from the following Tables, made for one year:

TABLE EXHIBITING THE INTERNAL REVENUE, &c., OF SIAM, FOR ONE YEAR, IN BATS OR TICALS.

		Bats or Ticals.
Tavern Licenses.	Bankok,	104,900
	Sia-Yut'hia,	16,000
	Bang-xang,	8,000
	Suriburi,	4,000
	Krungtap'han,	4,000
Bazaars.	Bankok,	39,000
	Sia-Yut'hia,	12,000
	Suri-buri,	1,600
	Bang-xang,	1,600
Duty on floating houses,		36,000
— on Chinese gambling-houses,		64,000
— on Siamese ditto,		58,000
Revenue from provinces under first minister,		32,000
— — — — second minister,		24,000
— — — — third minister,		12,000
— — judiciary courts of Kromamuang,		4,800
— — — — of tribunal,		8,000
— — gold province of Bangtap'han, 180 ticâls' weight of gold equal to.		1,880
	Carried over,	431,780

	Bats or Ticâls.
Brought forward,	431,780
Revenue from gold province of Pipri, 60 ticâls' weight of gold, equal to	960
— — tribute paid by Malays for working gold mines, 216 ticâls' weight of gold,*	3,456
Total,	436,196

TABLE OF COMMERCIAL REVENUE.

Articles.	Quantities.	Ticâls.
On Paddy,	1,696,423 koyans,	862,358
Gardens,		545,880
Trees,		17,800
Teak wood,	127,000 trees,	56,000
Sappan wood, (3 qualities,)	200,000 piculs,	84,000
Cocoa-nut oil,	600,000 "	56,000
Sugars, (5 qualities,)	96,000 "	40,000
Jacra,	150,000 jars,	8,000
Salt,	8,000 koyans,	32,000
Pepper,	38,000 piculs,	23,000
Cardammums,	550 "	5,400
Bastard do.,	4,000 "	16,000
Stick lac,	8,000 "	9,500
Tin,	1,200 "	18,200
Iron,	20,000 "	54,000
Ivory,	300 "	2,500
Gamboge, (3 qualities,)	200 "	1,200
Rhinoceros' horns,		1,600
Deer's do.	26,000 pairs,	3,600
Cows' do.	200 piculs,	
Buffaloes' do.	200 "	
Deer's sinews,	200 "	800
Rhinoceros' hides,	200 "	
Tigers' bones,	50 to 60 "	
Buffaloes' hides, in number	500 "	
Carried over,		1,837,838

* Gold is estimated at sixteen times the value of silver.

Articles.	Quantities.	Ticals.
	Brought forward,	1,837,838
Cows' hides, in number	100,000	1,600
Gum Benjamin,	100 piculs,	400
Birds' nests, (3 qualities,)	10 to 12 "	32,000
Dried fish, (3 kinds,)	79,000 "	18,000
Dried shrimps,	1,000 "	
Balachao,	1,400 "	4,600
Azelu de pao,	15,000 "	8,000
Breu,	10,000 "	6,000
Rosewood,	200,000 "	1,600
Damar,	200,000 bundles,	5,600
Rattans,	200,000 "	5,600
Casca de pau,	200,000 "	1,600
Wooden posts, (3 kinds,)	203,500 in number,	8,000
Bamboos,	600,000,000 "	8,000
Ollas, or Chak leaves,	95,000,000,000 "	8,000
Firewood,		14,000
	Total,	1,960,838

These tables are derived from the Portuguese residents; and, though not complete nor perfectly accurate, proximative estimates may be formed from them.

The annual tax on cultivated paddy or rice fields is levied at the rate of three *fu-angs* per square *rai*, of 130 feet square. Being the custom of the country to plant the cane once every three years, sugar plantations pay one ticâl for the first, and for the two following years two *sa-lungs* per square *rai*. The reason assigned for the difference is, that the first year's growth is most valuable. A tax of one *sa-lung* per picul

is also levied on the sugar before it is brought to market.

The taxes are separately farmed by the Government. The customs on wood, ollas or chak leaves, used for thatching, are one-fifth in quantity. Gardens are taxed per square *rai*, varying somewhat in proportion to their productions. Orchards pay according to their number of trees and the value of their fruits; on cocoanut and betel trees, &c., the tax is one *fu-ang* for twenty trees; on mango and other valuable trees, it is from one *fu-ang* to half a ticâl per tree.

The taxes on taverns, or more strictly speaking, tippling-shops, and on gambling establishments, are farmed to licensed individuals, without whose permission no one can sell spirituous liquors or open a gambling-house without incurring a heavy penalty. Individuals are not permitted to play in private, not even beneath their own rooftree, but in order to gratify this passion must repair to some one of the many licensed establishments, except at certain periods, when the law is suspended. A general permission to gamble is granted three times a year; three days at the commencement of the Chinese new year; three days at the commencement of the Siamese new year, and three days at another season.

During these periods, all classes may be seen, assiduously waiting upon dame Fortune's smiles or frowns, read in the turning of cards or throwing of the dice. In these privileged times, wealth often changes hands; beggars become rich and the affluent are reduced to penury. In these periods too, a taste for play, under the influence of an almost universal example becomes irresistible, and when the law again becomes operative, those who have been unlucky resort to licensed tables to repair their shattered fortunes, and those who have been fortunate, in order to increase their gains. The honourable and productive avocations of society are forsaken or much neglected; wealth is squandered, intemperance and frequent quarrels ensue, and, often under the weight of overwhelming despair, the gambler, as in other countries, ends his not yet mature existence by suicide.

A species of lottery has been introduced by the Chinese, which has attracted much attention, and is much in accordance with the tastes of the people. An indefinite number of tickets are sold, upon which is written the name of some one of thirty-six titled cards, which the purchaser may designate. Once a week one card is turned up, and those whose ticket bears the title, win and receive thirty for one, the pur-

chaser being at liberty to pay any sum he pleases for the ticket.

The circulating medium of Siam consists of silver and cowries exclusively; gold is occasionally coined, or rather stamped, but is held entirely as a curiosity, and cannot be considered as a part of the money system. The cowry shell *(Cyprea moneta)*, circulates in many countries of Asia, but in former times to a much greater extent than at present. They were carried to various parts of the East in great quantities, from the Maldive islands, where they were fished twice, monthly; three days before and three after the new moon. Women alone were employed in the fishery. They waded into the sea, waist deep, and dug them from the sand; they were then made up into packages, each containing 12,000 shells, and thus shipped off to Ceylon, the Ganges, Siam, &c.; but in the Maldive islands they were not current money.

The silver pieces, in the form of short bars, doubled on themselves and impressed with a small stamp, closely resemble buck-shot and bullets. They are ticâls or bats, sa-lungs and fu-angs; all the rest of money divisions named in the following table, except the cowries, whose value is fluctuating, are imaginary. The ticâl or bat is the money-unit, and, according to the

Calcutta assay, weighs 236 grains, and is valued at two shillings and sixpence sterling.

In April, 1836, dollars were at the rate of 150 ticâls for the hundred dollars.

SIAMESE MONEY TABLE.

200 Cowries,	equal to	1 P'hai-nung.
2 P'hai-nungs,	—	1 Song-p'hai.
2 Song-p'hais,	—	1 Fu-ang.
2 Fu-angs,	—	1 Sa-lung.
4 Sa-lungs,	—	1 Ticâl, or bat.
4 Ticâls,	—	1 Tumlung.
20 Tumlungs,	—	1 Catie.
100 Caties,	—	1 Picul, or 133⅓ lbs.

The above are also used as measures of weight, whether apothecary, troy, or avoirdupois.

SIAMESE LONG MEASURE.

12 Fingers' breadth,	1 Span.
2 Spans,	1 Cubit, = 19½ English inches.
4 Cubits,	1 Fathom, = 6½ English feet.
20 Fathoms,	1 Sen, = 130 feet.
400 Sens,	1 yote, = 3 leagues, 271 yards, 8½ feet.

The only land or square measure is the rai, of 130 English feet.

SIAMESE DRY MEASURE.

20 K:nán,	1 Tang, or bucket.
50 Tangs,	1 Ban.
2 Bans,	1 Kian, or Koyan.

One k:nán is equal to about 1½ English pints. Liquids are also measured by this table. Oil however is sometimes sold by weight.

The measure of time is not less singular than any other. The time-keeper, like that of the Hindoos, consists of a cup with an aperture in the bottom, floating in a vessel of water, which sinks at the termination of each watch.

SIAMESE TIME MEASURE.

10 Ak-san,	1 Pran.
6 Prans,	1 Pùt.
15 Pùts,	1 Bàt, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of an hour.
10 Bàt,	1 Tum, or hour of the night.
3 Tum,	1 Yàm.
4 Yàm,	1 K'hun, or night.
12 Mong (hour of the day),	1 Wan, or day.
7 Wan,	1 Kwap-a : tit, or week.
29 and 30 Wan,	1 Duan, or month.
12 Duan,	1 Pi, or year.
12 Pi,	1 Cycle.

The day commences at sunrise. The forenoon is divided into six watches, and the afternoon until sunset into the same number. From sunset until midnight includes two watches, and from midnight till morning the same number. In Siamese, the day watches are called *Mong*, and those of the night, *Tum*.

The division of time into weeks of seven days was probably derived from the Portuguese. They are named, in Siamese, as follows :

Wan-a. thit, (literally day of the sun,)	Sunday.
Wan-chan, (moon-day,)	Monday.
Wang-ang-khan,	Tuesday.
Wan-pu',	Wednesday.

Wan-prà-hat,	Thursday.
Wan-suk,	Friday.
Wan-sou,	Saturday.

The Siamese reckon 29 and 30 days to the months, alternately, which, with the exception of the first two, are numbered. This gives their year 354 days; but they complete the measure by adding an intercalary month every third year, and omit reckoning three or four days, as the case may be, before the commencement of each new year. The month is divided into the bright and dark halves, corresponding to the increase and wane of the moon.

The Siamese year is divided into three seasons; the *hot season*, from the full moon in February to the full moon in June; the *rainy season*, from the full moon of June to the full moon of October, the remaining time being the *cool season*. The new year commences after the close of the fifth month, which, in 1836, falls on the 15th of April.

The great division of time is into two cycles, the greater of sixty, and the lesser of twelve years. The last is said to be employed for astrological purposes, in casting nativities, &c. The names of the years are nevertheless inserted in all important papers; they are named after different animals, as follows:—

1. Chuat, or year of the	Rat.		7. M : Mia, or year of the		Horse.
2. Ch-lú	—	Cow.	8. M : Mé,	—	Goat.
3. Khán	—	Tiger.	9. Wak, (1836)	—	Monkey.
4. Thỏ,	—	Rabbit.	10. R : ka,	—	Cock.
5. M : Rong,	—	Dragon.	11. Chá,	—	Dog.
6. M : Seng,	—	Serpent.	12. Kun,	—	Hog.

In dates of letters, &c., the Siamese mention, first, the day of the week, then the evening or morning of the day of the month, the increase or wane of the moon, and the name and number of the year. In all important documents, the year of the Siamese era is also inserted. The present year (1836), in their phraseology, is the 1197th from the commencement of the magnificent kingdom of Thai.*

The Siamese have two eras, a sacred and a popular one; the former, used by the Talapoins in all matters relating to religion, dates from the death of Guatama; the latter was introduced in commemoration of the introduction of the worship of Guatama into Siam, which happened in the 1181st year of the sacred epoch, corresponding with the A.D. 638, so that the God of Siam has been dead 2379 years.†

Of the precise extent of the Siamese empire

* For the above tables of weight and measure I am indebted to the kindness of Missionary Charles Robinson.

† Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochin China, by John Crawfurd, &c.

we have no certain information; and from the frequent acquisition of territory by conquest, it is not easy to ascertain what are its precise boundaries. Crawfurd places its extreme western limit, including some desert islands in the bay of Bengal, in the meridian of 97° 50′ east of Greenwich, and the eastern limit in about the 105th. The northern boundary is under the twenty-third, and the southern under the fifth degree of north latitude, that is, on the west or Malay side of the gulf. Mr. Crawfurd commits a glaring error in placing the southern boundary on the Cambodian side, "in about the same parallel" as that on the side of the Malay peninsula. The island of Pulo Oby, at the southern extremity of Cambodia, is situated in 8° 25′ north; so that, even if the Siamese possessions include that island, there is a difference of three and a half degrees of latitude—a space of open sea, claimed in vain for Siam. The area of the whole country is estimated at 190,000 geographical miles, including, besides Siam proper, Laos on the north, a part of Cambodia, and a large portion of the Malay peninsula.

Except in the vicinity of Bankok, the country is mountainous and well-watered. The soil is fertile, abounding in fruits, dye-woods, medicinal gums and timber. The teak, so useful in ship-

building, grows in great abundance, and is of an excellent quality. The total population of the empire is represented to be 2,790,500.

The Government is a despotism of the most absolute kind. The King is the god, the law of the land, and his name is known only to few, that it may not be taken in vain. He is mentioned by several epithets which are considered peculiarly soft and flattering; as, "The Sacred Lord of Heads," "The Sacred Lord of Lives," "The Owner of All," "Lord of the White Elephants," "Most Exalted Lord, Infallible and Infinitely Powerful." Even the members of his body are designated in adulatory terms; his feet, hands, nose, ears, and eyes, are never mentioned without the prefix of Lord, or sacred Lord. Every thing belonging to or attached to his Majesty's person is also styled golden. To visit him, is to come to his magnificent Majesty's golden feet, to speak in his golden ear, &c.

The country is divided into districts; each one is governed by a minister, appointed by the King, aided by a governor and other subordinate officers; and the more distant provinces are under viceroys or rajahs. There appears to be no written law; at least, there is none ob-

served, the will or whim of the officer being often decisive.

All the people, with the exception of the Chinese, European and American residents, are virtually slaves, or in a state of slavery. The officers at the head of sub-divisions of districts require them to labour on public works one month out of every three or four, according to official pleasure, in building temples, junks, roads, or any thing else; which requisition is termed, "A call to public business." If a superior officer be engaged in any work, he calls upon one under him to furnish a number of men, greater or less, according to circumstances, to labour for one month: when this term has expired, he calls on another for an equal quota, and so continues till the task be accomplished. The labourers support themselves and their families, and receive no compensation for their public services, except the glorious privilege of living in Siam or Thai, literally the "Free country." We may almost say, with Paudeen O'Rafferty, "They work for nothing, and live upon less," content to be slaves, as long as they entertain the name of being free.

A number of people of various countries are held in perpetual bondage, including those who

are taken in war, and those who are so unfortunate as to be in debt, because they have no hope of liberation unless some friend step forward and satisfy the claim against them. Debtors are allowed no compensation for their services, but on the contrary are charged for food, clothing, medical attendance, &c., so that the original debt is constantly increasing.

Except in case of debt, the Chinese are exempt from labouring on public works, by paying the triennial tax of four ticâls and a half, before mentioned. Some say this tax is collected yearly.

The religion of Siam is that of Boudha. The belief is, that after death the soul transmigrates through animals of the inferior classes, in gradation, according to the good or evil the individual has done in this world, until he arrives through meritorious deeds to the condition of supreme beatitude, which is the state of nonentity. Every animal is animated by some human soul, and hence the general respect for life. Though the Siamese will not kill an animal, they will generally eat of its flesh, because the sin lies only in driving the soul from its temporary abode.

The talapoins or priests, supposed to amount to

at least one hundred thousand, are maintained by daily contributions of rice, &c., from the people, and annual presents from the King, consisting of money, and yellow cloth for their robes. At funerals they often receive valuable presents. They assemble daily in the wâts or temples, and repeat prayers which they do not understand, as they are in the Bali language, which they do not generally comprehend. This, however, is not an unfrequent occurrence in other countries. Not more than ten in the whole kingdom, it is said, are capable of understanding the sacred books which they read, and which are all in this language. They relieve the people from all devotional exercises and holy acts, except that of daily bestowing upon themselves boiled rice and other little offerings. For three months of his life, every Siamese is obliged to be a talapoin, and they generally assume the yellow robe at twenty years of age. They may doff this beggar's life when it suits them after the term has expired; but if they take up the robe a second time, it must be for life. The usual number in the capital is about twenty thousand, varying with the price of rice, and provisions; prosperous agriculture, abundant crops, making the fruits of the soil cheap, detract from the worship of the great

Boudha, distinguished by being sixty-eight feet long, and having all his fingers and toes of the same length.

The talapoins are of different grades or classes, and are presided over by one, whom, from the nature of his office, we may in common parlance term the Pope. He has other priests below him, answering to the cardinals, archbishops, bishops and other dignitaries of the church of Rome. The whole system, including the monastic and beggarly lives of the churchmen, bears a strong resemblance to the Roman Catholic institution.

The wâts or temples are numerous, and costly, many of them indeed magnificent; and they occupy the best situations in the kingdom. They are the residences of the priests, and the places of education for all male Siamese.

The people seldom visit the wâts, nor do they ever perform any act of worship. They as well as the priests are ever ready to acknowledge that Boudha died long, long since; but they believe there will be another incarnation of the Deity, and that all his fingers and toes will be of the same length. They are anxiously expecting such a person; and for this reason perhaps may feel more curiosity to see the foot than the face of the stranger. These being the marks

by which his incarnation is to be known, it is said that Boudha before his death, caused some pattern statues of himself to be made, that he might be the more readily recognised on his second coming. For this reason all images of him in Siam are made after this fashion.

CHAPTER II.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

The morning after our arrival, we visited His Highness the Prince Momfanoi, literally, "Prince of Heaven, Junior." He is also called Chawfanoi, the ultimate syllable signifying the younger. He is half brother to the King, and in truth, rightful heir to the throne, which, on the late King's death, his present Magnificent Majesty usurped, and afterwards proposed to create Chawfaya, the elder brother of the Prince and legitimate successor, second King. This proposal however was scorned by him; and, declaring that he would never bend to, nor do homage to the usurper, he assumed the yellow robe of the Talapoins for life. By this means he is enabled to keep his word, because they are excused from all the slavish ceremonies of Siamese etiquette, and in the presence of the

higher grades, the King himself appears upon his elbows and knees. On the refusal of Chawfaya, an uncle of the reigning monarch was appointed second King; but since his death, which occurred about three years since, no successor has been named to this office, and it is asserted that His Majesty will not make another second King, because he is entitled, according to Siamese custom, to one-third of the revenue of the empire.

Chawfaya leads a very holy life, measured by the Siamese criterion of sanctity, and enjoys a rank equal to that of a Bishop. His assumption of the yellow robe a second time, makes Momfanoi the legitimate heir; but his accession to the throne is not absolutely certain. The King has the power of naming his successor from among his lawful heirs. The reigning Monarch, though he possesses more than three hundred wives, has no children living, legitimate enough to wear the crown; and, since the death of his lawful son, Prince Momfanoi has "crept into favour," and rumour states that he is about being affianced to His Magnificent Majesty's favourite daughter, notwithstanding that he has already nine wives. If this report prove true, there is no doubt but he will succeed to the throne; *es mejor care en gracia que ser gracioso.*

Being very popular and full of enterprise and military spirit, the Prince has been regarded with a jealous eye, or at least has been carefully watched. This state of things makes him very cautious and fearful of thwarting any of His Magnificent Majesty's views. He seldom goes abroad by day, therefore, but goes about, as he says good-humouredly, "like a thief at night." He makes frequent visits to the palace after sunset, the time selected by the King to receive his several ministers to hear their reports, after the cares of the day are done.

We found his Highness on board of his barque, where he gave us a hearty welcome. The size of this vessel is about two hundred tons, and is somewhat in the European style; but, having been at first intended to be a junk, and the plan after the work was well advanced being changed, she draws more forward than aft. He is now fitting her out with the aid of three English sailors in his employment, and so far, every thing is neat and well-finished.

Instead of the costume described when the Prince visited the Peacock, he wore upon the present occasion nothing but a heavy silk sarong or waist-cloth. He ushered us into his cabin, where he offered tea and cigars. His numerous attendants, all apparently on the familiar footing

of companions, were resting on their elbows and knees around him, chewing arecanut, which His Highness does not use. He had two beautiful parrots from Borneo, of which he seemed to be very fond. We accompanied him over the vessel, and found every thing going forward actively: the workmen were generally seated on the deck, and therefore were not under the necessity of desisting from their labours, as would have been the case had they been standing. The Prince himself took the gouge from the hands of a mechanic, and squatting down began to apply it with skill, to a piece of wood which was turned by a man pulling a cord, passed about it like the string of a drill-bow, the ends of the wood revolving on points like those in the frame of a turning-lathe. While observing these things, we heard a shout or huzza from a hundred voices on the river, raised in a long canoe-like boat, pulling a hundred oars. The rowers were standding behind the oars, loudly marking time with the right foot, while one stood in the bows, striking together two pieces of bamboo, as a guide to their simultaneous efforts. The boat and crew belonged to the prince, who exercises them daily in this manner, which explained the salutation we had just heard. He has several thousand men whom he thus trains, or to the

use of small arms daily. He delights in military affairs, but does not, on that account, omit any opportunity of acquiring general knowledge. On one occasion he borrowed our drummer to teach his own our rolls, calls, &c. and on another was very particular in having explained to him the object of lightning rods in ships. The day afterwards we found his armourer hard at work, making one for this vessel. He has called the barque the "Royal Adelaide:" and with his own hand has painted the name in English characters, on a rack for small arms, at the afterhatch. His taste for painting is displayed in several places; a large chest in the cabin is marked on the front with his own name, T. MOMFANOI, and he showed us several of his drawings.

The vessel was lying about ten yards from the shore, in front of his palace, which has the external appearance of a fort. The walls are snowy white, and surmounted by embrasures for guns.

We accompanied the Prince on shore, and as we walked to the palace gate, every native we met fell on his face till Momfanoi had passed. Within the walls we found, every where, evidence of the master's tastes. A number of people male and female were at work, some

twisting or 'laying-up' rope, and others at various other occupations. Several of both sexes had chains on the arms and legs, and their naked backs bore recent marks of bamboo. It was the first time I had seen women in chains, and I felt a sudden recoil of mind at the sight, of mingled disgust and pity, and perhaps a desire that they should be at once free; but on reflection, I suppose it was correct, for they are not of the same comparative feebleness of body as in Christian lands.

Before entering his dwelling, Momfanoi led us to see his pets; a large baboon, half a dozen beautiful deer, a pair of large black bears from Borneo, with a white stripe over the fore part of each shoulder; these were tame and playful; a large cassowary from New Holland, so tame as to eat from one's hand, was running about at liberty. He now called our attention to a variety of parrots and krokotoas, in the corridor or veranda, surrounding the house; and then led us to his stables to see his fine stud of horses, and thence, to look at several storks, jungle fowls in cages, and half a dozen asses and monkeys. He had ordered three or four alligators to be brought from beneath the stable in the mean time, and their jaws to be secured, that we might examine them without risk.

In another part of the court or area were field-pieces, and guns of various kinds and caliber, ships' spars, &c., neatly arranged beneath a shed. He had numerous questions to ask about every thing he exhibited, and was never satisfied till he felt sure that he clearly understood the answers which were given to him.

He now led us into the house, saying, "Gentlemen, you are welcome—I am glad to see you." The interior is lofty, though but of one story, and is divided into three apartments by two screens, which do not reach the ceiling. The centre apartment was furnished in the Anglo-Asiatic style, and as neatly as any house I have seen in India.

On a table near a sofa at one end of this drawing-room were violins, flutes, and a flagelet, upon which instruments His Highness performs. The adjoining apartment was filled as a study, furnished with a small collection of English books, a fine barometer, &c. A small room communicating with it is arranged as a private museum, in which there are many fine specimens of natural history; quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, &c., all preserved and set up by himself.

Among the strange animals belonging to Siam there is one described under the name of Khon Paa, which belongs to the known genus of natural

history. This animal has been seen by the Prince and hundreds of others, yet we must confess that we are inclined to doubt the accuracy of description. The Khon Paa resembles man; it is five feet high, walks erect, has no knee-joints, and runs faster than a horse. Should he accidentally fall, he is forced to crawl to a tree or something else, by which he again raises himself on his feet. His skin is as transparent as a China horn lantern; his entrails are distinctly seen through it, and his abdomen shines like a looking-glass—*credit qui vult, non ego.* Under the superstitious notion that the presence of the animal in Bankok was unlucky, his owners were bambooed, and all their property confiscated by the King for bringing him there. This treatment caused so much terror, that no one has since ventured to bring a specimen of the beast from his native lurking-place.

When we returned from the museum to the drawing-room, the Prince ordered wine, Port and Madeira, which were excellent, and cigars of Siamese manufacture.

So gracefully did he do the honours of his house, in spite of his being nearly naked, that no one would hesitate to pronounce that Nature had stamped him a gentleman. He gave his attentions equally to all his guests, asked questions

on almost every subject, and, when the answers were not perfectly clear, always repeated his inquiries, and on two or three disputed points, he referred to books in the library to support his opinions.

He showed us the sword used by the Siamese when they fight on elephants, which one might mistake for a spear. The handle was four feet long, of fine heavy wood, and perfectly straight, having a screw joint in the middle in order to make it more portable. The blade was one-edged, two feet long and gently curved; the guard was a disc set with gems, and the scabbard was enamelled. Such an instrument in a bold determined hand, might be used with the effect of a scythe.

A musical instrument, invented in Laos, the country to the north of Siam proper, was next exhibited. It consists of fourteen bamboos half an inch in diameter, and from eight to twelve feet long, placed in two parallel rows, containing seven each. The barrels or tubes are of graduated lengths, like those of an organ, and from the resemblance to that instrument, this might be termed the Laos organ. About two feet from the square end, the tubes pass through a short cylinder of wood at right angles, and about

three inches above it, each tube is pierced by a small hole, to which a finger is applied when playing. The player holds the instrument between the palms, and blows into the open end of the cylinder.

We requested that some of his people would play for us. "Wow!" exclaimed the Prince in his usual manner of expressing surprise, "Wow—I will play for you myself," and, at once, calling an old man who was resting *à la Siamese,* he took the instrument between his palms. The old man crawled close up to the Prince's feet, and sitting *à la Turque,* looked up into his face while his Highness played a showy interlude. The minstrel shut his eyes, and turning his withered countenance heavenward, began singing a melancholy air to his master's accompaniment. We were surprised at the power of the instrument, and much pleased with the performance.

He had no sooner ended his song, than the old man began to move back to his former station, but a word detained him at his master's feet. "Now," said the Prince, "I will give you another kind of tune," and at once struck up an air which might have been mistaken for Scotch, had we not been assured that it was

Siamese. The minstrel gathered confidence from the music, and sang with much spirit and better effect than at first.

When we took leave, he detained some of us to dinner; and in the mean time entertained the company by showing them several Siamese curiosities, and conversing on all subjects. About three o'clock P. M., the table was spread in the Anglo-Asiatic style,—a mixture of English comfort and Eastern display; the dinner was remarkable for the variety and exquisite flavour of the curries. Among them was one consisting of ants' eggs, a costly and much esteemed luxury of Siam. They are not larger than grains of sand, and, to a palate unaccustomed to them, are not particularly savoury—they are almost tasteless. Besides being curried, they are brought to table rolled in green leaves, mingled with shreds or very fine slices of fat pork. Here was seen an ever-to-be-remembered luxury of the East. Two slaves stood waving fans behind the Prince's chair, and many other attendants were crouched upon elbows and knees around the room, to whom he occasionally translated such parts of the conversation as he thought would interest them. While he thus sat conversing cheerfully, circulating his choice wines, accurately cooled, and entertaining his

guests, a slave was crouching beneath the table busily occupied in scratching His Highness' naked shins.

On another occasion we visited the Prince at night on board of the Royal Adelaide, which at present seems to be his hobby. We were no sooner on the deck than he exclaimed, "Wow —I am glad to see you; walk into the cabin." There we found him with several of his attendants. He showed us an American newspaper, which contained a list of the officers of the Peacock, and the announcement of the then projected Voyage to Siam. He had had the newspaper six months, but never had communicated the news to the King. He laughed heartily when he related the anecdote.

Among other subjects that of phrenology was mentioned, and I proposed to illustrate its principles by the examination of some of the heads of his attendants. This was agreed to, although there is a strong prejudice existing against putting the hand on the head of a Siamese. In relation to this point there is an anecdote told of the P'hra Klang. When the British Envoy from the Government of India was here in 1822, he resided in the second story of a house; to avoid the ill luck and disgrace of having any body for a moment actually over his head, the worthy

P'hra Klang (a man of some three or four hundred pounds substance) was in the habit of entering the Ambassador's apartments through a window, by a ladder placed against the outside of the building.

As the Siamese almost invariably burn their dead, it is almost impossible to procure a skull for phrenological comparison. I therefore determined to obtain the measure of some of them, and in order to do so, excited their curiosity, to lull the prejudices I have mentioned. I was lucky in guessing the predominant traits of those who submitted to examination. One of them was a brother to the second P'hra Klang, and, according to the Prince, a gentleman of pure blood. When the character given by me was interpreted to him, he seemed for a moment stupid with amazement; then seizing my hand, said, "You have told me much that I conceived impossible for you to know; there is one thing more which I entreat you to tell me. How long have I got to live?" At this the Prince and all of us laughed. He looked as grave as though he expected to hear me name the day of his death.

Momfanoi said he would submit his own head to examination at some other time in private; but no opportunity occurred.

The character of the Prince Momfanoi might

be deduced from what has been already said. He is docile, active, determined, and considering he is of a race that has taken scarcely a step to emerge from ignorance and barbarism, he is liberal-minded and in a great degree free from the many prejudices, common to his countrymen. His manners are easy, but are rather of the kind which characterize naval officers than the carpet knights of royal courts. Possessing eminent qualities and quick perception, fitting him for a high and useful station, it must be a subject of regret to all philanthropists, if he be not nominated successor to the throne of "the free." The English language he acquired from the American missionaries, and, delighting to diffuse the knowledge he acquires, he has already taught one of his slaves, a lad of sixteen or seventeen, to speak it intelligibly. Whenever he hears any thing novel, he immediately communicates it to his attendants, who always listen attentively to whatever he says. This disposition to communicate information is so great as to impart a peurile cast to his whole character, which is increased by the promptitude with which he appears ready to undertake or to execute any plan that squares with his fancy. On one occasion he was asked whether it were possible to procure a white monkey. "I don't know *that*—it is a

On Stone by A. Herrick.

A. Pucci's Lithography

Ordinary Costume of a

rare animal; I have a white ape." At this moment he was interrupted, and the conversation took another turn. After a few minutes, though it was night and we were on board the Royal Adelaide, the white ape was brought in. By candle-light it appeared quite white and woolly like a sheep, but in daylight the colour is yellowish. The face, the palms and soles are black, and the eyes are of a very dark chestnut colour, or what might be termed without impropriety black. It is of the sort designated as the long-armed ape; the arm from the shoulder to the end of the middle finger of this specimen measured nineteen inches, and the whole height when erect was twenty-three inches.

The animal was for some time alive on board of the Peacock; it was grave and disposed to sleep a great deal; the stuffed specimen is now in the collection at the academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

In the event of Momfanoi ascending the throne, great changes will no doubt be effected in Siam. Improvements in every branch of useful industry may be anticipated; education will become more general, and liberal ideas will be diffused; the American missionaries will derive more beneficial results from their labours; Christianity will be established, and, last though not least to some of

the community, the commercial treaty with the United States will be worth a great deal to America. In these things, the Prince will, in all probability, be the leader, and the people will follow —qualis rex talis grex—

> "For princes are the glass, the school, the book
> Where subjects eyes do learn, do read, do look."

We do not imagine that all these will be accomplished, but only believe that an impulse will be given by his example, which in the course of time, must lead to the result we predict.

The Siamese belong to that variety of the human species which writers on the subject denominate the Mongol. Their average height* is five feet two inches, which I suspect to be near the truth, from the few to whom I have applied the rule. The lower limbs are stout and well-formed; the body is long, and hence the figure is not graceful. The shoulders are broad, and the muscles of the chest are well developed; the neck is short and the head is in fair proportion. The hands are large, and the complexion of a dark olive, but not jetty. Among females of the higher classes, who pass their time generally within the harem of their lords, the skin is of a very much lighter hue; in some instances

* According to the measure of Mr. Crawfurd.

it might be described as a very dark brunette. The forehead is narrow at the superior part, the face between the cheek bones broad, and the chin is, again narrow, so that the whole contour is rather lozenge-shaped than oval. The eyes are remarkable for the upper lid being extended below the under, at the corner next to the nose, but it is not elongated like that organ in the Chinese or Tartar races. The eyes are dark or black, and the white is dirty or of a yellowish tint. The nostrils are broad, but the nose is not flattened, like that of the African. The mouth is not well formed, the lips projecting slightly; and it is always disfigured according to our notions of beauty, by the universal and disgusting habit of chewing areca-nut. The hair is jet black, stiff, and coarse, almost bristly, and is worn in a tuft on the top of the head, about four inches in diameter, the rest being shaved, or clipped very close. A few scattered hairs, which scarcely merit the name of beard, grow upon the chin and upper lip, which they customarily pluck out.

The occipital portion of the head is nearly vertical, and, compared with the anterior and sincipital divisions, very small; and I remarked, what I have not seen in any other than in some ancient Peruvian skulls from Pachacamac, that

the lateral halves of the head are not symmetrical. In the region of firmness, the skull is very prominent; this is remarkably true of the Talapoins.

The following measurements, with callipers, of four purely Siamese heads, may convey a more definite idea than any description I can give.

	Inches.			
Between openings of external ears,	5½	5¼	5½	5½
parietal protuberances,	6	6	6	5¾
root of nose and occiput, or antero-posterior diam.	7	7¼	7¼	6¾
the temporal fossæ,	5	4¼	4⅜	5
the external angles of the eyes,	4¼	4¼	4½	4¼
the cheek bones,	5½	5½	5½	5½
the angles of the jaws,	5½	4⅜	5	4¾
From the incisors to root of nose,	2¾	3	2¼	2¼
the chin to root of nose,	4½	5	4½	4¾
root of nose to the crineal line,	3¼	2¾	3	2
the ear to the sagittal suture,	5⅜	5¼	5⅜	5½
Facial angle,	59°	67°	67°	59°

Though active, the Siamese are not a warlike people. The only athletic exercises I have seen them practise, in my short sojourn, were rowing and playing shuttlecock with the feet.

Half a dozen were standing in a circle of about thirty feet in diameter, equidistant from each other. The shuttlecock, or bird, was a piece of leather, with numerous feathers stuck round it, which was kept flying from side to side, being struck only by the sole or knee. I have never seen a more graceful exercise, nor one requiring more activity and suppleness of limb.

The Siamese, like all Asiatics of low latitudes, are disposed to indolence, and to the indulgence of the animal propensities, where these do not contravene their religious notions, to which however they are not scrupulously wedded. They possess an inordinate self-esteem which places them above all nations, except the Chinese, whom they acknowledge to be superior and to whom they pay occasional tribute, and the Burmahs, whom they rank as their equals. All their superfluous wealth they devote to the building of temples, to obtain what they esteem the prospective benefit of their souls. They are mean, rapacious, and cruel; and never betray any of that high-toned generosity of feeling which wins our admiration or demands our respect. In proof of their cruelty, we have only to adduce their practice of enslaving those taken in war, without regard either to age or sex; and their wantonly barbarous treatment of the unfortunate King of Laos and his family, who were brought to Bankok in a cage, exhibited like criminals, and exposed to the rudeness of an ignorant and savage populace.* They are suspicious, vacillating, and procrastinating, and destitute of those principles of honour which give stability

* Gutzlaff's Voyages. Toumlin's Residence in Siam. Abeel's residence in China and the neighbouring countries.

to society in the Christian world; the law which consigns the person of the debtor to slavery and stripes at the will of the creditor, has its origin in these traits of character. Cringing and servile to their superiors in the extreme, they are arrogant, haughty, and tyrannical in regard to those who are below them in rank. Though humble to the dust to their great men, in our presence, and with whom our intercourse was on terms of perfect equality, when no Siamese of distinction was present, they conducted themselves towards us with a hauteur bordering on insolence. They never manifested the slightest sign of respect, but crowded upon us at all times, when not kept off by reproof or by forcible means; and, had we not been looked on somewhat in the light of the King's guests, I question whether our treatment generally would have been tolerable, unless the hope of gaining something from us had purchased a more seemly entertainment. They were constantly begging for whatever they saw, with most shameless effrontery, not in the least abashed by the most contemptuous refusal.

Their virtues and their vices are venal; the services of the judge and the assassin are equally purchasable at a very moderate price, but will always be sold to the highest bidder of

the contending parties, and they deem themselves fortunate, if by any chance they obtain fees from both sides.

The only commendable quality of the Siamese character, so far as I could learn, is their filial respect, which is kept up through life with all the punctilious exactness which characterizes it in infancy. The son never stands in the presence of either parent, nor assumes a seat on a level with his father. Even his Magnificent Majesty humiliates himself once a month, and appears before his mother on his knees and elbows. The Queen dowager and the chief of the Talapoins are the only two individuals in Siam who have no superiors.

Like all ignorant and uneducated people, they are superstitious. Without referring to a belief in ghosts, witchcraft, lucky and unlucky days, this trait is amusingly observed in their mode of detecting a thief. A gentleman, who has been long a resident at Bankok, related to me the following anecdote.

An individual lost from his apartment two bars of gold. Immediately on missing them, all those persons suspected of the theft were called together, and a conjurer summoned to declare who was the guilty individual. He came provided with several square bars of a metallic ap-

pearance, six or seven inches long, and thick as the little finger, which on examination proved to be of a species of clay. He charged each person with the theft, and asked individually whether any among them knew any thing of the gold, and was answered in the negative. He then lighted a small wax candle, and stuck upon each side of it a ticâl, obtained from the man who had lost the gold, and, muttering an invocation or spell, took a piece of clay and three times very ceremoniously raised it above his head. Then measuring it very carefully by the little finger, he broke it into pieces an inch and a half long, and gave to each suspected person three of them, which they were directed to chew as fast as possible, and prove their innocence by spitting, when the mastication was complete. All set to work chewing, and soon all were trying to spit; and as upon the success of the effort depends the innocence or guilt of the accused in the opinion of the Siamese, the scene may be readily imagined. In this case there were ten attempting to spit, and at last, after much labour, all succeeded, except a girl of fifteen, who was finally pronounced guilty; and the conjurer with the candle and ticâls walked off in triumph.

The test by clay is so much in favour, that, upon this ordeal alone, persons are often heavily

ironed, and daily flogged, until they confess, or the stolen property be returned. In the present instance, the poor girl received only a promise of such treatment, and probably owes her escape altogether to the proverbial faithlessness of the Siamese to their words.

CHAPTER III.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

On returning from our visit to Monfanoi, we found Mr. Roberts preparing to visit a distinguished officer of the Government, entitled, Phya-Ratsa-pa-vade. Desirous of conforming as much as possible to the Customs of the East, on all occasions while in Siam, we were careful to appear with as much pomp and circumstance as our means would admit, and made all public visits in full dress, preceded by our band. We marched along the narrow streets to a military air, followed by a crowd, but observed none to crouch before us, as they are wont to do in the presence of the tea-kettled nobility of the magnificent kingdom of Thai.

A few minutes brought us to the dwelling of the "big officer," as the worthy captain of the

port was pleased to call him. It is a large building of one story, enclosed in a spacious yard; and the centre of the front opens upon a broad veranda, exposing a hall of eighty by forty feet, the lofty ceiling of which is supported by numerous wooden columns. The floor is elevated about four feet above the ground, and was covered with mats. The hall was furnished with chairs, tables and Chinese mirrors, and many lamps hung from the ceiling. Close to the middle of the back wall reclined the great man on a däis, clothed in a silk sarong. Before him, on the däis, were his patents of nobility and badges of offices, consisting of a tea-kettle, chunam box, spittoons, and drinking-cup, all of pure gold. To his left lay crouched on the ground a fan-bearer and a sword-bearer, and on either hand were his numerous slaves and inferior officers.

Instead of looking at the dress of a Siamese to estimate his rank, it is necessary to cast the eye upon the slave following him, who bears upon a tray the badge which designates his master's rank. Tea-kettles of gold and silver, plain or ornamented, are patents of the highest grades of nobility, and are presented by the King as commissions of office.

A row of chairs stood beneath the veranda, facing the Phya-Ratsa-pa-vade, for our accom-

modation, to which we were showed by Piadadè, who acted as interpreter. He bent down upon his elbows and knees, and crawled in the most abject manner to a spot halfway between us and our host, and there remained during the interview.

At the foot of each one of the pillars of the front row, were spittoons and quivers of cigars, placed on low stools. The doors leading to the inner apartments were concealed by silk screens. A crowd of naked rabble was in the yard, and another beyond the wall, gazing upon us to gratify their idle curiosity.

The scene was opened by the son of the General, who received us on our landing at Bankok. Dressed in his gaudy uniform and cocked hat, he crawled along at our feet, on his knees and one hand, as well as he might, offering cigars with the other to each of us as he passed: he then returned in the same manner with a lighted candle and paper matches.

A few commonplace questions were asked and answered through Piadadè, who made a salam at the beginning and end of every sentence. After a few minutes the Ratsa-pa-vade asked whether our quarters and situation were agreeable, and hoped we would wave all ceremony and make ourselves quite at ease. Tables

loaded with fruits and sweetmeats of various kinds were now wheeled up before us, and during the interview tea without sugar or milk was served several times.

At the request of the Ratsa-pa-vade, our band played several airs, which, he was pleased to say, was the best music he had ever heard. At the end of half an hour we took leave by shaking hands, and returned in the order we came. Very soon after reaching the house, several slaves arrived laden with fruit presented by the officer we had just visited. It is an invariable custom in Siam to send presents immediately, by way of showing that the visit has been acceptable.

Early on the following morning, Ramòn, whom the reader may recollect as one of our interpreters at Paknam, requested me in the name of Phya-pi-pat-kosa, familiarly known among foreigners as the second minister, to visit him professionally. I appointed ten o'clock, and a little before that hour Ramòn appeared and announced that he was ready. Accompanied by a friend, I took my place in the Phya-pi-pat-kosa's sampan or gondola, rowed by seven men, and crossing the busy river, we entered a canal and pursued its course for nearly a mile, threading our way amidst boats of every description. Moored along the banks were many large sampans, with semi-

cylindrical roofs, which were occupied as their permanent residence by large families. Some were salt-shops, and others were stored with earthenware. The people were nearly naked, and though wanting the dignity, they apparently possessed the ease desired by the poet. Some were whiling away time by industriously examining the bristly hair of each others' crowns. Many were swimming in the water. Fishermen with baskets slung upon their backs to hold whatever they might catch, were wading about waist deep, net in hand.

The scene was attractive from its novelty, and we wondered how so many people could exist in so small a space. They were wretchedly filthy in appearance, and so disgusting that we felt no regret at leaving the place.

The sampan stopped at the foot of a rude staircase, by which we mounted on the bank, and entered a large yard through an ornamented gateway. Within stood the dwelling of the second minister. This is extensive, but like most of the houses in Bankok, only one story high. The front presents an open hall with painted walls and carved joists, gaudy as the unsubstantial show of theatrical scenery. In this hall we were requested to remain; Ramòn disappeared behind a screen, and did not return before we

had had time leisurely to examine the apartment. It had three sides, the front being open and supported by pillars of teak-wood, and protected from the weather by a great mat, swinging like a shutter from the eaves. The only furniture it contained was the däis or low table, upon which the great men of Siam recline when they receive their guests. Several slaves were lazily dusting and sweeping the mats upon the floor.

From the side of the screen Ramòn shortly afterwards beckoned us, and we passed through an inner court, upon which opened an apartment similar to that we had left, except that it was neither so neat nor so much ornamented. Here the Phya-pi-pat-kosa, a short stout man, with a round good-humoured face, clothed in a sarong of crimson silk, reclined upon a däis, in the midst of his family. Twenty of his wives were seated round *à la Turque,* with perhaps as many children. A female, resting on her knees, about two yards from the däis was fanning the minister. Thus we were introduced unexpectedly into a Siamese harem. The ladies were the fairest among their countrywomen that I had the good fortune to see; and I may add, they were graceful in their manners. They were all dressed alike, in silk drawers gathered full about the waist and ankles, and had a narrow scarf of

black Cantòn crape thrown carelessly over their shoulders, which very partially and fitfully concealed the bosom. Their arms which were bare were folded across the chest, showing long taper fingers, which appeared longer on account of the long-trained nails. They sat silent with their eyes cast down.

The children were running about entirely naked, with the exception of one little girl of six or seven years old, who wore a golden fig-leaf, supported by a heavy chain around her hips. This child was more grave than the rest, and stood, during the interview, with one finger in her little mouth, gazing at us strangers in wonder.

The Phya-pi-pat-kosa stood erect on the däis, and shaking us cordially by the hand, requested us to be seated on its edge along with him. Ramòn lay extended on his knees and elbows, salaming according to custom. The son of our host, a young man of twenty-two, was kneeling in the court, which was lower than the apartment, supporting his arms and chest against the floor of the hall.

Tea was immediately brought, and the minister stated, that he wished me to see his niece, whom he had caused to be brought in from the country for this purpose. She was spoken

to, and my attention was called to a female of fair proportions, whose arm and hand a statuary might consider as a model, who, in a squat position, managed to move along the matted floor. Her features were regular, and countenance attractive, but a glance showed me that her situation scarcely admitted relief at my hands. She was totally blind, and had been so for nine years. I presumed her age to be twenty, but her uncle assured me it was twenty-seven. I asked him if she were married, whereupon he laughed heartily, saying, "Who would marry a woman without eyes?" which caused a general titter among all the ladies. I explained to the patient, that an operation might be successful in restoring sight, but it was doubtful; and at any rate that my short stay would prevent me from making any attempt. I therefore recommended her to take the advice of Dr. Bradley, a resident American missionary at Bankok, who is daily employed in acts of benevolent usefulness in behalf of the Siamese. There was a sigh of disappointment, but not a word escaped the patient.

The minister next brought forward a child of two years old, labouring under a curvature of the spine, and inquired whether the deformity could be relieved. As in the first case, I referred him to Dr. Bradley. He appeared to be very

fond of his children, to judge in the manner in which he caressed them.

Ramòn, having witnessed some of my phrenological examinations, related what he had seen to the Phya-pi-pat-kosa, whose curiosity was awakened, and he requested me to state the character of his son. In this instance, the father declared my remarks were correct; and when I expressed an opinion that the young man was fond of female society, the ladies shouted in approbation.

The interview lasted nearly two hours, during which tea, fruit, sweatmeats and cigars were served. I remarked, that it was considered indecorous and impolite to smoke tobacco in the presence of ladies. "With us," replied the gay minister, "on the contrary, it is the sign of friendship, for your enemy will never allow you to smoke in his face." We now took leave of the "big officer," who shook us most socially by the hand, and invited us to repeat our visit.

Ladies of the better ranks are not actually excluded from sight, but strangers are very rarely permitted to see them. They are much more comely and of a lighter complexion than those commonly met with abroad.

We returned by the same route that we had

come, Ramòn all the way lauding the minister for his goodness, wealth and wisdom.

In the afternoon we made a visit to the Phya-si-pi-pat, who is acting for his brother, the Phra Klang, or minister of foreign affairs, now absent at Chantibun.

Just at sunset we landed from our several boats near the house of the first minister, where the band had been stationed to receive us. Along the narrow street as far as the house, there was a crowd of Siamese squatting and gazing upon us in wonder, as we marched on preceded by the music. We found the court-yard quite as crowded as the street. From it we were conducted into a lofty and extensive hall, two sides of which were a series of doors, opening upon surrounding verandas. On the right was a partition, or screen, covered with Chinese paintings, and Siamese arms; and to the left was a table, handsomely spread in the European style with fruits, sweetmeats, and wines. Along the wall in front of us, were three däis covered with Persian rags, and there was a carpet on the floor. The pillars supporting the roof resembled polished marble, but were of wood covered with chunam. The Phya-si-pi-pat reclined on the first däis. He was a fat man, of about fifty, in a sarong of silk. A square pillow

of crimson silk, embroidered in gold, supported his right side; and the right arm was extended straight over the edge of the däis, while the left hand grasped the sole of the right foot, which was turned upwards. The left leg was sufficiently bent to allow the sole to rest upon the rug. In front of him, on the däis were a large bowl of water with a cup floating in it, a spittoon, an arecanut and a chunam box, all of gold, and all surmounted by conical covers of crimson paper, figured with gold, together with a gold enamelled tea-kettle, china tea-pot, and gold quivers for cigars, the distinguished badges and patents of his nobility. A sword-bearer knelt upon his left, bearing a two-handed sword, cased in a crimson velvet scabbard, the hilt of which was set with brilliants; and beside him crouched a fan-bearer, exercising the functions of his office.

On the next däis was the Phya-pi-pat-kosa, and next to him, another officer of less rank, both attired, and surrounded by the insignia of their respective ranks, agreeing, however, in character with those of the Phya-si-pi-pat.

The hall was illuminated by lamps suspended from the walls and ceiling, reflected by numberless small mirrors. Our band was still playing. A crowd of naked spectators stood outside, and about the floor crouched the numerous menials

and inferior officers of the ministers. When we had entered a few steps, the Phya-si-pi-pat stood up on the däis, shook us individually by the hand, and motioned us to seats at the table. As we sat down, the music ceased, and the minister resumed his eastern position. A few observations, such as are common on such occasions, were made by Mr. Roberts and the Phya-si-pi-pat.

In a few minutes tea and coffee were served, and then wine. Mr. Roberts proposed, "The health of the King of Siam and his ministers," which was drunk standing, and followed by three cheers, no doubt much to the astonishment of the worthy natives present. Immediately afterwards he gave, "The President of the United States," which was drunk with two cheers; this was universally disapproved of by the officers, because it looked like yielding a degree of rank, and had the toast been distinctly heard, I doubt whether it would not have received a third cheer. After the wine, cocoa-nuts with the tops off, containing parched nuts, which add much to the flavour of the milk, and obviate the unpleasant effect which this beverage occasionally has upon the health, were served.

In a short time the company was scattered through the hall in groups, viewing whatever

struck them as worthy of admiration, or conversing with the officers on there several däis. My friend, the Phya-pi-pat-kosa, recognised me by many smiles, and sent me a cup of tea from his own tea-kettle. He asked many questions relative to health, &c., and complained of pains in his knees, which were hard. The knees and elbows of the Siamese, from constantly kneeling, and crouching in the presence of superiors, are hardened like the soles of those persons who go habitually barefoot. This I found to be very common among people of all grades here. When we took leave, he shook my hand in both his; and then, in spite of my teeth, pushed his thumb and finger into my mouth, and there deposited a bolus of spices of most agreeable flavour.

The Phya-si-pi-pat was curious in examining the officers' swords, and by way of contrast exhibited his sword of state; but he appeared much disturbed when one of the officers drew the blade half out of the scabbard, it being contrary to Siamese etiquette to have naked weapons in the presence of nobles or great men.

When the Prince Momfanoi was on board, he was very particular in the examination of our great guns. In the course of the evening, the Phya-si-pi-pat requested that one of them might

be sent up to Bankok to look at, as they wished to mount some of their own after the same manner. The weight of a thirty-two pounder was, in their opinion, not the slightest objection to granting the request; and though a model was promised, which was afterwards sent, they did not seem to think us obliging.

As a mark of attention, and to testify their gratification upon the occasion of our visit, the minister proposed to entertain us with a dramatic exhibition, and requested to know whether we would like a long or a short play; one of an hour, or one of two, three, or four hours; and we pronounced in favour of the long one.

At the end of two hours we took leave; and, issuing out of the house, we found an open way from the door to the street, through a crowd of squatting Siamese, lighted by torches of sweet-smelling agila wood. Similar torches were held, a few feet apart, all the way to the boats, producing a novel scene, by their dappling light.

A large present of fruit followed us home.

CHAPTER IV.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

Among the most agreeable hours spent at Bankok, were those passed in the society of the American missionaries.

Whatever may be our opinions relative to the soundness of the policy under which they act, we cannot fail to accord to them admiration for their devotedness to the high cause which excites and cheers them in their philanthropic labours. We see them among a race of beings, whose degraded state of knowledge and morals, and whose wretchedness and poverty, call hourly for their sympathy and charitable exertions; while the strong passion which swells every breast remains controlled in their bosoms—I mean the affection which binds every individual to his own home and hearth-stone. Deprived of

friends, of congenial society, of many comforts and all the luxuries of life—we behold them, still cheerfully toiling in a cause, the success of which appears to be almost hopeless, at least the most sanguine now living cannot expect to see it. While they contend against all these chilling circumstances, they are surveyed and watched by the eyes of individuals whose interests are opposed to the diffusion of knowledge, and the advancement of virtue and religion. These persons, often their own countrymen, are found in the ranks of the ignorant political rulers, encouraging them to persist in their ignorance, and even to curtail the few privileges which the missionaries may have already gained. I am not aware that this is the case in Siam, but in other parts of the world this is generally true. They misconstrue their motives, and most maliciously distort and misrepresent their acts and words. These persons certainly have not calmly investigated the subject, or they cannot be aware that they are standing in their own light. They will not believe that the march of the Christian religion will always be followed closely by intelligence and increase of commerce.

However my opinions may be swayed by philanthropic views, without discussing the question of its intrinsic necessity on the score of

religion, I would encourage the Christian missions in all Asia, Polynesia, and indeed in all the world, because I think it is sound policy. By the introduction of the Christian religion, commerce must be benefited. Merchants, upon a candid investigation of the subject, will probably find their interest in doing all they can in behalf of those pious individuals, who sacrifice the honours of this world, in earning a glorious crown in the next, by attempting to put misbelievers in the path to sound morals, true religion and rational liberty.

To what extent the American trade in the East would be augmented by the conversion to Christianity of Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan, it is impossible to conjecture. When the half-naked millions of Asia shall attain Christianity, and with it, all the new wants which the necessary change in their social condition will produce, the soil of America, rich and vast as it is, will be scarcely adequate to supply them. A new and extensive mart must be opened for manufactures of the United States of all kinds, and even literary men will find an increased demand for their labours. Hundreds of ships will spread their sails to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, destined for the shores of Asia and the isles scattered in

the Southern Ocean, and Commerce will pour her wealth, gathered in the Old World, into the lap of the New.

Dr. Bradley assisted by his wife dispenses medical advice and medicines daily, to at least one hundred afflicted Siamese. I spent several hours at their dispensary, and left them with feelings of admiration and respect for individuals, who appeared more in the light of ministering angels of beneficence, than in that of human beings. When I contrasted their present situation with what it must have been in the United States, and viewed their active and incessant labours in behalf of objects more calculated to excite disgust than call forth active pity, the risk of health and life they were daily incurring, I could not help suspecting them of acting under the influence of an enthusiastic zeal, tending rather to retard than advance their cause. Their efforts are too strong, and must defeat themselves: a more leisurely and cautious manner for the first few years at least, ought to be pursued. Of the truth of this opinion they are inclined to be convinced, but say, "How can we thrust away from us the afflicted who hourly petition our relieving charity?" They are aware that their

own unaclimated constitutions are incapable of long enduring so much fatigue: they know from experience, that over zeal has been a rock upon which many bright prospects of the cause have been wrecked: they know that steady perseverance is likely to achieve more in this, as in every thing else, than interrupted efforts however strong; yet they pursue the impolitic course, unable to repress the ardent desire of doing good, notwithstanding that "doing good every day" is contrary to the laws of the land.

I accompanied Dr. and Mrs. Bradley from their humble dwelling, where they have all the little comforts which circumstances allow, to the dispensary, a small floating house on the river. The voyage was made in a sampan of the commonest kind, without shelter from a blazing sun.

We found nearly a hundred individuals crowded under the little veranda, and many, still in their boats, awaiting the doctor's arrival. Among the number was a considerable proportion of Talapoins in their yellow robes, and I thought all manifested pleasure at our coming.

The males on the veranda were separated, but a stranger would be unable to distinguish

the sexes by their features, and, being aware of this, the doctor very kindly said, "These are the females, and those the males." The front of the dispensary is divided into two apartments. One of these is occupied by Mrs. Bradley, who dispenses prescriptions to the women, and, where the treatment of a case is continuous, manages the detail, thus leaving Dr. Bradley more time to bestow on new or more urgent cases. In every instance, the prescription is written on a slip of paper, upon the reverse of which is a text from Scripture in Siamese, and the patients have acquired the notion that this is an important part of the treatment. Whether this plan of disseminating the Scriptures be a feasible one I question; seeming very much like exhibiting chippings from the sculptor's chisel as a sample of a fine piece of statuary, or a brick as a specimen of architectural structure. Besides, it may lead to the impression that these texts are essential to the cure of disease.

I spent several hours here, and witnessed many specimens of disease, which I had never before seen; particularly a variety of the affections of the skin which are scarcely known in our country. The diseases of the eye are very numerous, which may possibly arise from constant exposure in the low sampans to the re-

flected glare of the sun from the surface of the river. Ulcers of various kinds abound.

I took leave of this scene, and left my best wishes for the philanthropic individuals who are instruments of almost incalculable charity.

On Sunday, the Rev. Charles Robinson delivers a sermon at the dispensary, in Siamese, which is attended by from one hundred to a hundred and twenty persons.

On one occasion, I passed nearly a day at the residence of the Rev. Messrs. C. Robinson and W. Dean, and feel indebted to them for their kindness and attention in showing me many things of interest, as well as for giving me much information. Mrs. Robinson will long be remembered by us with pleasure.

Mr. Dean devotes every afternoon to patients, prescribing for from forty to fifty Chinese, many of whom are sailors from the junks trading here, and on Sundays he preaches to a small congregation in Chinese. He has charge of the Chinese church, consisting of five members, three of whom he baptized. Besides the afternoon patients, he dispenses medicines to about a hundred individuals during the week. Professing but a limited knowledge of the healing art, his most difficult cases are referred to Dr. Bradley.

Some idea of the extensive field of his labours

among the Chinese in Bankok may be derived from the following facts: The Chinese population of the city in 1836 was 400,000; and from thirty to eighty junks, with crews numbering from twenty to one hundred and thirty each, annually visit the port, and remain from February till May or June, arriving in one monsoon and returning in the other. They are chiefly from the island of Hainan, Canton, and Leang-hâe; but their crews, as well as a majority of the Chinese residents of the city, speak the dialect Teo-chew, their native place, a subdivision of the Canton province.

Those who have laboured here among the Chinese as missionaries are, Gutzlaff, Tomlin, Abeel, Johnson, and Dean; the latter arrived in July, 1835, and is the only one now at Bankok.

Two or three schools have been begun here for Chinese children, and one is now in operation; but there is much difficulty in originating and sustaining them, for the reason that the children of the Chinamen here have Siamese, Burman, Laos, and other country women for mothers, whose prejudices are even stronger than those of the Chinese themselves.

The missionaries whose labours are exercised in behalf of the Siamese are the Rev. T. R. Jones, the Rev. Charles Robinson, and Dr.

D. B. Bradley. Mr. Jones has prepared some tracts in Siamese, and has commenced the translation of the Sacred Scriptures. He is at present at Singapore, on account of the health of his family, but is expected to return soon.

The residence of the missionaries was moved, soon after their arrival, to its present place, by the Siamese authorities, because, as it was asserted, they were too near the residence of His Magnificent Majesty, who once a year passed that way. Besides, the missionaries were doing good every day, and thereby obtaining too much merit, which was contrary to law, His Magnificent Majesty himself not being allowed to "do good" for more than ten days successively.

The missionaries are not certain of permission to remain, for the Siamese are suspicious, and confine them strictly to the city. They applied for leave to visit the ancient capital of Yut'hia, a hundred miles up the river, but were denied. Dr. Bradley visited Chantibun, and on his return made a chart or plan of the river; while copying it his teacher constantly expressed apprehension of being detected in the act, and thereby of incurring punishment. They have never had an audience with the King, and the request of Mr. Roberts in their behalf was denied.

Among other matters of interest showed to us

by the missionaries were several Siamese books. They consist of a long sheet folded alternately right and left, and some of them are ornamented with paintings, very much after the fashion of illuminated manuscripts, but far inferior in the style of execution. The reader sits on the ground *à la Turque*, and unfolds the book before him.

Of the Roman Catholic missionaries I learned nothing.

Soon after sunrise one morning we entered our sampan with Ramòn, and set off for the Bazaar. In our way along the river we met a number of Talapoins in small canoes, some of them containing two or three, collecting alms. It strongly reminded me of the beggars I have seen about the kitchen entrances of large hotels, receiving the broken meats of the previous day. The priests of the great Guatama are a filthy race; often the robes upon their backs were not yellow as they should be, and we may truly say, *ni perro, ni gato del mismo color* could possibly be found.

At this hour the scene on the river is not so busy as later in the day. The Siamese find it more agreeable, on account of the heat of the climate, to pass the night, or a great part

of it, in visiting and transacting business The King usually holds his cabinet councils between sunset and midnight.

We turned into a canal, thronged with boats, among which our gondoliers threaded their way with a skill that at once surprised and pleased us. It is impossible to convey an idea of this singular scene. We landed in front of a wât, whose enamelled roof and gilded spire were glittering in the morning sun. The architecture is peculiar; particularly the roof, which in form may be compared to three saddles, placed one on the top of the other, diminishing in size from the lowest to the top. The effect is more pleasing than would be imagined, and, from the costliness of the structure, we might infer that religious feeling is very strong in the bosoms of the Siamese.

We passed over one of the high narrow bridges, resembling more what we might expect to find in the wilds of the western world, than a bridge in a metropolis numbering a population of half a million. It consisted of a rough plank, only wide enough for one person to walk upon, supported on lofty posts driven into each side of the stream. In our excursions along the

canal we often passed under similar bridges, many of them fifteen or twenty feet above our heads.

After crossing the bridge we found ourselves before a row of huts, occupied by Chinese blacksmiths, who were seated beside their anvils, at work; not, however, wielding the huge sledge, with brawny arm, after the fashion of our own vulcans. Throughout the East, the mechanics are seen seated at their various labours. The carpenter, the tailor, the blacksmith, and the votary of St. Crispin alike ply their tools, seated on the ground. The feet of the carpenter are as often employed as a vice, in holding the wood upon which he is working, as his hands by the plane.

Just at this spot there was a crowd of fishing-boats, their bows wedging into the shore, and a noisy assemblage of men and women receiving into their baskets quantities of fine fish, all alive. The scene was enlivened by loud exclamation and vituperation, aided by the squalling of children and the barking of lank curs, that testified their displeasure by snarling and growling wherever we appeared. Why is it that fishermen and fishwomen, all over the world, are so given to vociferation?

The walk we were in, along a canal, termi-

nated in a street about twenty feet wide, crossed at right angles, forming the bazaar, which is at least a mile in length. It is paved with large square bricks, which were now covered with slimy ooze. On either side were shops or stalls, five or six of one kind in a row, alternating with as many more of a different description. Here were five or six tailors' shops, and next as many stalls hung with fat pork; opposite were confectioners, and next them poulterers, the latter passing their time, seated on the ground, picking the pin feathers from dead fowls, with tweezers, making them look very clean, and much better than the plan of singeing followed by our cooks. Next were vegetables and fruits; and then, perhaps, shops filled with dried ducks, prepared for the use of Chinese seamen. The street was alive with people: fishermen with their kicking fish, and water-carriers with jars of water, slung from the ends of a bamboo over the shoulders: the purchasers, with their purchases and bags of cowries, all moving in heterogeneous streams, mingling and changing every moment, as they advanced in opposite directions. The hum of the multitude rose on the otherwise still air, and the curs barking at us, broke the monotony wherever we went. Then there was the disgust of naked bodies, shining in greasy

perspiration, to detract from any thing like romance, with which the imagination might have clothed the scene.

At intervals of two or three hundred yards, the thoroughfare was partly interrupted by a sort of stage, eight or ten feet high, erected in the middle of it, for the exhibition of dramatic spectacles.

Having seen the Bazaar by day, we now paid it a visit at night. We found it much less crowded. Around the stages were knots of individuals, enjoying puppet-shows and a sort of diorama, exhibited by Chinese. The gambling-houses were open; and in front of them were spread tables, around which people were assembled, venturing their cowries, fu-angs, and ticâls, on the throw of the dice, or turning of the cards, by the light of numerous copper lamps, fed with cocoa-nut oil.

It is probable that similar scenes are witnessed in the towns of the Celestial Empire; for we may suppose from the great proportion of Chinese in the city, that they have imposed their own manners and customs upon the people, and something of their own style upon the character of the architecture of Bankok.

On Sunday morning the Phya-si-pi-pat informed us, by an officer, that, if it would be

agreeable to us, we might that evening witness at his house a Siamese play. At once adopting the maxim *à Rome comme à Rome,* the invitation was accepted.

About seven o'clock P. M. we proceeded, as on the former occasion, and, following our band, marched from the landing-place through a crowd of naked, squatting natives, lighted by great torches, and entered a court-yard, which was filled with people in similar primitive costume.

We were conducted to a large apartment, the floor of which was broken into three broad steps, and open upon a court, the front being supported by highly polished chunamed pillars. On each of the several broad steps of the floor was a row of sofas and chairs, and, on our right, when facing the court, reclined upon his däis the Phya-si-pi-pat, surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance of his high office. The däis was placed near a small door, which opened into an apartment with tapestry of crimson silk. The silk curtain which closed the door, and those which shut a small window, with gilded trellis, by its side, were drawn back; and, though there was no lamp within, we perceived, by the reflection of numerous lights suspended in the hall, several females and children, dressed in silks and glittering with jewels, peeping upon the

scene. One step below his father reclined the son of the Phya-si-pi-pat.

The court below was covered with fine white matting, and except a clear space in front, presented a mass of half-naked human beings on their hands and knees. On either side, at short distances apart, arose lambent flames, which at first sight seemed to proceed from entire barrels of oil; but on closer examination they proved to be metal pans, set upon cylinders of bamboo. On the left were about twenty musicians, who began their performance the moment we entered the court. Their instruments were gongs, hautboys, and pieces of wood about a foot long, which were struck together in time with the other instruments, producing altogether a great deal more sound than melody.

The Minister received us cordially, and, on taking our seats upon the upper step on a level with him, servants crawling on their hands and knees, placed gold quivers of cigars and lighted tapers at our feet. The representation of a pantomimic drama, entitled the 'Angels' now commenced. The plot seemed to be allegorical and illustrative of some portion of Boudhist religious history. The actors were accompanied in their performance by the band, and a recitative in a squeaking female voice and an occasional

chorus, altogether enough 'to split the ears of the groundlings.'

The first scene presented two individuals in close red jackets, which fitted the shape to the hips, where they were joined to short full skirts. They wore masks, and conical caps terminating in a spire two feet high, ornamented with a profusion of tinsel and paint. Besides, they had long metallic-looking nails; in short, they were representing mongrel monkeys. Their first act on entering upon the stage, from a door to the right, was to prostrate themselves before the Phya-si-pi-pat and touch the ground with their heads. Then they enacted a series of antics in the slow time of the minuet, occasionally throwing side somersets rapidly, and again knocking heads. At last they sat down, one on each side of the court, and were succeeded by twelve others, much more gaudily dressed, but in a similar fashion. One half represented ladies, and the other knights; and, if the drama has any influence upon taste in Siam, long finger-nails are considered a mark of great elegance among the beauties of the capital; for those of the actresses were elongated and turned backwards, by metal appendages, at least three inches in length.

These knights and ladies ranged themselves

in two lines, confronting each other, as in a contra-dance, and, in time to the slow music, assumed various attitudes, some of which were very graceful. They now promenaded in circle and then changed places, the knights touching the ladies' hands, with due regard to their long nails, constantly manifesting by gesticulation their all-consuming love, which however the ladies were slow to accept. At the end of an hour they took seats *à la Turque* on opposite sides of the stage, to give place to a gallant knight, who, from the energy of his gesture, enacted the part of a challenger. After he had raved his time upon the stage, the ladies and knights again minueted for an hour, and again gave place. A lady now entered followed by a knight in a black mask, from whose pursuit she was flying. Whenever he approached she screamed and very gracefully eluded his grasp. They disappeared. The minuet of twelve was again performed, and, upon resuming their seats, a lighter female figure than any which had yet appeared, and more gaudily attired, entered bearing between her fingers a sparkling ball. She was the angel of light. The black mask soon pursued her, but the sparkling ball had talismanic powers, and he quailed before its flashing light, whenever he approached too

near. After essaying in vain against the powers of the talisman, the black knight was encountered by the challenger. Both were armed with short swords. After strutting and motioning defiance at each other for half an hour, while the recitative became more squeaking, vociferating, and discordant than ever, and just as we thought their courage had oozed away, they crossed their blades. They made terrible passes at each other, but both were too cunning at fence to be soon overpowered. The challenger fell, and the black knight placed his foot upon the breast of his foe; but he struggled again to his feet, and overthrew the black mask, leaving the spectators to infer that virtue finally triumphs over vice.

The native musicians now brought their instruments in front of us and performed several airs, which were repaid by as many from our band. Their instruments are similar to those of the Javan gamelàn which has been already described.

Half an hour after the commencement of the play the Phya-si-pi-pat retired, offering us as an apology, the necessity of visiting His Magnificent Majesty. He had no sooner disappeared from amidst his golden badges of nobility and office, than his son filled the place.

The only refreshment offered besides cigars, during the entertainment, was water, served in basins of pure gold, and drunk from cups of the same metal.

We were heartily weary of the three hours' play, long before it was concluded, and at the proper time gladly took leave, and returned as we had come, lighted by torches.

On descending into the court, Piadadè inquired how I liked the actresses. I thought they acted well, and some of us were not a little surprised to be assured they were all males.

Most of the wealthy Siamese nobles entertain a company and a theatre in their own houses, for their private amusement, similar to that just described.

CHAPTER V.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1856.

THE following morning, the officers were formed into a procession headed by Mr. Roberts, two of them bearing a box, containing the American copy of the Treaty, and marched to the river; distant about a hundred yards, preceded by our band. At the place of embarkation, a canoe eighty feet long, rowed by thirty-four oars, both ends curving upwards, awaiting to receive it. A bright crimson silk canopy, embroidered in gold, overhung the centre of the canoe, with which all the ornaments of the vessel were in keeping. The rowers wore the red livery of the King.

On reaching the margin of the river Mr. Roberts took the Treaty in his hand, and, after holding it up above his head in token of respect, delivered it to a Siamese officer, the secretary of the P'hra Klang. He also held it above his

head, and then, shaded by a royal chat, a large white silk umbrella, borne by a slave, passed it into the boat, where it was received upon an ornamental stand, and after covering it with a cone of gilt paper, it was placed beneath the canopy At this moment our band ceased, and that of the Siamese began to play. The canoe shoved off, and we turned our steps homeward to the merry tune of "Yankee Doodle."

Immediately after the conclusion of this curious ceremony of delivering the Treaty, I set off, in company with several officers, for Sia-Yut'hia, the residence of the King, situated on an island about two miles from our mission house, and on the opposite side of the river. As we moved along, we saw several toys floating on the stream, which we were told, were offerings to the spirits of departed friends.

On landing outside of the wall, enclosing the palace and town, we were conducted to see a huge white elephant. He was dirty and wild, and, from being yet untamed, is called the mad elephant. Each of his legs was secured to a post driven into the ground, and he was attended by three or four slaves. The irides were white.

We now passed a gate, which was carefully closed after us, and we found ourselves in a

broad street of mean houses in Sia-Yut'hia, the capital city of the magnificent kingdom of Thai. Following our conductor Ramòn, we passed a second wall enclosing a number of buildings, by no means neat in appearance. The principal one, situated in the centre of an open area, is called the Hall of Justice, and resembles an old storehouse. The hall of justice is a roof of tiles supported on stout columns of wood without walls. Horizontal shutters of coarse matting are so contrived that they may be made to exclude the rays of the sun, as they are cast either on one side or the other. The floor is raised about two feet above the ground, and was covered with mats, and along its edge were ranged several brass basins of water, with a drinking-cup of the same metal floating in each.

In the enclosure in which the hall stands, there are a number of mounted guns of heavy caliber, each protected by a kind of weather-house.

The day was oppressively hot, and we found the hall of justice an agreeable shelter from the sun. Here we met our friend Piadadè, and about a dozen Siamese. They examined us long and attentively; some of them were so curious that they laid their hands on the uniforms of some of the officers.

Soon after our arrival a considerable crowd of

Siamese gathered around the hall, and presently His Highness, Prince Momfanoi, appeared seated *à la Turque,* on a palanquin, consisting simply of a platform between two poles, shaded by a silk awning supported by four staves. As he approached, the crowd fell upon their elbows and knees. He waved his hand and nodded familiarly to us as he passed, but received the salams of the prostrate hundreds without notice. He was followed by his faithful Sap, bearing the golden tea-kettle, and chunam-box, and a sword-bearer. Although he continued on to another enclosure, all that part of the crowd within the range of the Prince's eye remained prostrate. I followed His Highness, and found him seated on a rude däis in company with one or two nobles, under a ruined roof of bamboo, and the wide-spreading branches of a large tree, which afforded them ample shade. He received us gaily, saying, "This is a better place to sit in than the King himself has got, because we have a fresh cool breeze." He was in fine spirits, and invited us to sit and take tea with him, and then a cigar.

A discordant screech of hautboys very soon announced the approaching procession, which was kindly got up for the gratification of those officers who were required to return on board

ship before the presentation took place. The Prince laughed heartily, crying, "Go see, go see!" which we readily obeyed, prompted as we were by our curiosity.

A band of a dozen men in red and green uniforms, their cheeks swelled by their efforts, marched onward, closely followed by seven elephants. First came a huge black, fourteen feet high, then a large white, followed by another much smaller, and four spotted elephants of ordinary size. By the side of each walked a keeper, and several slaves bearing silver salvers, loaded with pealed sugar-cane and luscious bananas. The driver sat on the neck of each, in front of the houdah, or saddle-cloth, which was gold. Broad hoops of gold embraced each lusty leg, and jewelled rings glittered on the tusks of the white elephants; and from the ears of all of them were suspended tails of beautifully white hair.

The pageant wheeled round and halted on one side of the hall of justice. The slaves now set down their salvers before their respective elephants, and we were invited to admire and feed the animals, the possession of which, in the opinion of the Siamese, gives their King pre-eminence above every other monarch in the East.

The small elephant is the beauty of her race. She has a soft white skin, a beautiful chestnut-coloured eye, and a most complaisant manner of disposing of sugar-cane and bananas from the hand of the stranger. The other white elephant is a very much larger animal; but the skin is of a yellowish hue. Both are supposed to be animated by the transmigrated souls of Siamese monarchs.

The spotted elephants are all large. With the exception of the ears and shoulders, which are speckled rather than spotted, their colour is dark and uniform. The forehead of each animal is painted black, the outline of which is white, and traces the form of a headcloth.

The careful keeping and strict attention bestowed on these elephants, show how highly they are prized. The minute examination and admiration of our party gave visible satisfaction to the keepers, as well as to the crouching multitude around. When we turned away, the procession was again formed, and marched off in the direction in which it had come.

At the request of Piadadè, we now followed him about a hundred yards, and, passing through a gate, found ourselves in the Wât-P'hra-si-ratanat, or great temple of the King. Here we were bewildered and dazzled by the splendour

of gilt obelisks and temples sparkling in the sun. We stood under a broad corridor, surrounding the whole area, the sides of which are certainly not less than one hundred yards long. The pavement was chunamed, and shone like polished marble. The walls were painted with numerous quaint figures in bright colours representing events in the history of Guatama and the magnificent kingdom of Thai. How much did these walls express, had we been able to comprehend their language!

We were hurried to a great temple in the area. The walls were ingeniously inlaid with gems, and the roof and cornices were richly gilt and enamelled. We ascended a half dozen steps upon the floor of a magnificent portico. The door of ebony inlaid with ivory, stood open; but a splendid screen hid the interior of the sanctuary. We entered, and were not less dazzled with the view before us, than we had been by that of the outside walls. The ceiling was lofty and curiously carved. A large cut-glass chandelier hung from its centre, and many Chinese paintings and lamps were suspended around the walls. A subdued light disclosed the great altar of Boudha, not far from the middle of the temple. Its whole structure is of a pyramidal form, and is about thirty feet high.

Two or three wax-tapers were burning at its base, and there was a rug spread before them on the floor. A large lotus-plant, at least five feet high, of virgin gold, stood upon the left. Numerous small figures of the god surrounded the richly-carved altar, which was surmounted by a figure of Boudha, two feet high, said to be cut out of a single emerald. This idol has two brilliants, flashing light through the temple, in place of eyes, which cost in Brazil 20,000 dollars. The value of the whole god is inestimable. I doubted its genuineness, but Momfanoi assured me he was positive that it was an emerald, and not a beryl, as I suggested.

We hastened from this temple to a second, smaller in size, designated I believe as the Queen's wât. In our walk to it we passed many small figures, scattered through the paved area, among the beds of flowers and lotus-plants, representing elephants, horses, &c. The wât is white, and of a very chaste architecture. Within are three figures of Boudha, the past, present, and future, in white marble; one seated behind and higher than the other. They were surrounded by diamonds and gems of all kinds, suspended in festoons, in bunches, and a variety of forms.

Between the two wâts is the library of

sacred books, called, in the Bali language, Promodop. It is remarkable that in most religions, the priests have shut up the spirit and letter of their faith in some strange or forgotten tongue, thereby adding to its mysteries, which are always caught at by the vulgar. The exterior form of the libraries resembles the numerous 'prachadìs' or obelisks within the area of the temple. An ascent of two or three flights of stairs conducted us into a room about eighteen feet square. In the centre stood a prachadì of ebony, inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, of the exact form of the exterior edifice containing it, and occupying about one-third of the area of the room, the rest of which was covered with a mat of fine silver, wrought of thin bars about a quarter of an inch wide. In this beautiful casket repose the learned dogmas of the false faith of millions.

From this we strolled, almost bewildered, among beds of flowers and prachadìs, fifty in number, each ornamented by carving, figures of Boudha, and gilding. Aladdin's lamp never called up any thing comparable to the Wât-P'hra-si-ratanat in gorgeous ornament, or display of wealth in gold, in gems and in art. The greatest travellers among us declared that its beauties exceeded any thing they had before

seen in any part of the world. The first glance was enough to enchant one of his senses. I wandered through the labyrinth, which is no doubt regular though cunningly planned, as one in a dream. The merry brain of a poetic beggar in a state of intoxication might possibly imagine something resembling it in character; but infinite credulity, aided by the most vivid imagination, would scarcely believe in the existence of such a place, were it described in detail; I had no definite idea of the place an hour after I left it.

There is no one thing in it grand or imposing. It bears no impress of a master genius; yet, there is nothing mean, or inelegant, or without taste. There are paintings by the best masters of the Chinese schools; there are beds of flowers; pools in the stone basins, upon which floats the sacred lotus; marble; gems of all kinds and of great price; gold in abundance; carving and inlaid work of ebony and ivory and tortoise-shell. The impression of a chaos of elegances rests upon my mind.

To have an idea of this temple it must be seen; but to comprehend its details, a month must be spent in it. It must be borne in mind that the Siamese are under the belief that their happiness in the next world will be in proportion

to the honours they pay their god in this, and that this temple is the labour of successive monarchs, bigoted and zealous in their faith, who expended all their talents, and all the nation's gold in its construction.

In our last walk round the corridor we met a young prince of about fourteen. A rich sarong girded his loins, and the rest of his body was almost hidden under jewels; anklets and bracelets of gems surrounded his limbs, and chains of gold, curiously wrought, hung round his neck in profusion. A princess somewhat younger accompanied him. She wore a chased fig-leaf of gold, and stood, like mother Eve, all naked, but not alone. The complexions of these two individuals were much lighter than those of the numerous male and female servants in their train. They were the fairies of the scene. They stopped to gratify their curiosity by gazing at us, and we imitated them, and returned the compliment. We here received a message from His Magnificent Majesty, expressing his good will to us and all Americans, and a wish that we would examine and look at every thing freely, and without constraint.

We took leave of the temple, fully convinced that it is well worth visiting, but not worth a voyage from Europe or the United States to

see; and, after a few minutes' conversation with the Prince, who had been all the time sitting in the shade with his noble friends, returned to our place of sojourn. Our descriptions were cautiously received by those who did not accompany us, but they afterwards declared them to be far short of the truth. For the sake of our veracity, I hope the reader will bear this in mind.

Commodore Kennedy was now taken seriously indisposed, and we learned with regret that that dreadful disease, the Asiatic cholera, had appeared on board our ship, and that a seaman, Daniel K. Thomas had fallen the first victim. Under these circumstances, I bade farewell to Bankok, and, in the morning of the 12th of April, set off with the Commodore in his gig under a glaring sun, and without a breeze.

At four o'clock P.M. we landed at Paknam, after a sultry pull of seven hours. The governor was sulky, and seemed to think that he had already seen enough of us. I charged him with insolence, and delivered him a letter from the acting P'hra Klang, enjoining him at the peril of his shoulders and head, to treat us with all the attention and hospitality in his power. He at once apologized for the reception he had given us on the plea of indisposition, and ordered sup-

per, which was mean in the extreme, consisting of rice, fried fish, and boiled duck-eggs, all cold.

The Commodore retired to his mat, overcome by the fatigues of his journey and indisposition, and I, after insisting that a better supper should be furnished, sought repose on a bamboo settee, while His Excellency sat doggedly smoking his long pipe. He is subject to frequent corporeal castigation for his petty delinquencies, and receives the paltry salary of eighty ticâls per annum; so that he literally gets "as many kicks as halfpence," though deserving many more of the former.

Before sunset a party of officers, who had left the city before us, arrived. The servants now bustled about, and spread a table, under the superintendence of an interpreter, who professed to be well skilled "in custom of Europe gentleman." He was an active, officious, half-caste Portuguese, in a dirty sarong, and a beggar withal. After the table was spread, he reviewed it very carefully, and, to give the whole a proper polish, as well as to enhance his own qualifications in our eyes, commenced wiping out the tumblers with his naked fingers, which had been last applied to scratching his own skin. He was reprimanded for this proceeding, showed much contrition for his error, and to retrieve himself,

gathered pieces of waste paper, which had enveloped tobacco or cigars from the floor, and began anew to clean the soiled glasses. In spite of our disgust, we could not but laugh at his notion of "custom of Europe gentleman."

We had fallen very much in the estimation of the people of Paknam, and even the servants were disposed to be disrespectful. A young slave on being directed to bring fire to light a cigar, flung the match across the floor at my feet. With these people a positive and almost imperative manner is the most successful. If intercourse be attempted on an equal footing, they become arrogant and consequently insolent.

At daylight next day we left Paknam, and reached the ship at ten o'clock A.M., and on the same day another party of officers set out for the city.

Though a second individual had died of cholera (William Waggoner, marine), it was very satisfactory to find that the epidemic had abated. As soon as it had made its appearance on board, the ship was got under way, and kept close hauled upon a wind, and, her sides being alternately offered to the breeze, she was thus kept thoroughly ventilated. Though all the cases on the list wore the type of cholera, cold shrivelled surface with blue nails, no new case occurred,

nor did any one terminate fatally after the ship was under way. The disease prevailed at Chantibun, epidemically, about a hundred miles from the anchorage, and sporadically at Bankok. No cases occurred on board of the Enterprise.

CHAPTER VI.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

On the 12th of April Mr. Roberts had an interview with the Rajah or King of Lagor, who had been appointed by His Magnificent Majesty to settle the important matter of affixing the regal seals to the Siamese copy of the Treaty exchanging, as well as to the certificate of ratification.

The Rajah is the monarch or rather Viceroy of Lagor, a tributary state to Siam, situated on the Malay Peninsula. The object of his present visit to Bankok was to assist at a funeral ceremony, which took place eight days before our arrival. Six months ago the only legitimate son of the King died; and, according to the Siamese custom (and "old custom," with them is as binding as law) the body was embalmed, and recently committed to the funeral pile. So important

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was this ceremony, that all the tributary princes and governors of the empire were summoned on this occasion by His Magnificent Majesty.

On landing, Mr. Roberts was met by the King of Lagor, seated on a palanquin, consisting of a cushioned seat, borne on two poles, with his bare legs hanging down on each side. He was followed by many attendants, one of them bearing a large silk umbrella over his head. So soon as the interpreter came up, the King offered an apology for not inviting Mr. Roberts to his house, at the same time requesting his company on board of his junk. His house was merely a bamboo shed; preferring to spend his time in his own country, he will not build himself a palace as he has been urged to do, because, so long as he has none, he has always a ready excuse for making brief visits. He is short and fleshy, and possesses an agreeable countenance and polite manners. He is sixty-one years of age, an able minister and the oldest courtier in Siam.

The sword of Mr. Taylor attracted his attention, and he requested permission to examine it, and for the purpose put on his spectacles. He regretted that no business could be transacted that day, and hoped that Mr. Roberts would not be angry for causing him so much unnecessary trouble.

While on board of the junk, tea was served in earthen pots, and drunk from porcelain cups without saucers. A tea-pot and cup were placed before each person present, on a salver of pure gold, set with precious stones. Water-basins and cups, chunam-box and spittoons of fine gold, were borne on salvers of the same metal. Fruit and confectionary were presented on salvers six feet in circumference, with pedestals two feet high, of richly embossed silver. Silver spoons and forks were on the several dishes from which the company were expected to help themselves, without using a separate plate. The King was very polite, and often helped his guests with his own hands.

At eight o'clock the following morning, Mr. Roberts, accompanied by Mr. Taylor, again waited on the Rajah on board his junk. They were received by the Rajah's eldest son, a young man of twenty-two, who entertained them with tea, eggs, &c., in the same style as on the preceding day. The Rajah soon made his appearance, and stated that the royal seal of Siam could be affixed only to the certificate of ratification. Mr. Roberts replied, that the King to the preamble had promised to affix his seal to the articles of the Treaty, and he would therefore unquestionably do so; and that it was indispensably

necessary to the certificate; for the Treaty could not be considered as ratified without it. After some discussion the Rajah unwillingly yielded the point, and declared that it should be completed in accordance with Mr. Roberts's wishes.

One of the secretaries requested a list of the officers who had visited the Wât-P'hra-si-ratanat a day or two previously, that it might be entered on the archives of the Government.

The curiosity excited by the officers among the Siamese was scarcely to be restrained. We were frequently felt from head to foot, and to-day the Rajah had his hands in Mr. Taylor's pockets, while at the same time his son had rolled up his pantaloons to feel his boot-leg. The Rajah, his son and two grand-children, wore round their waists, besides the sarong, cream-coloured crape shawls of beautiful texture. The Siamese, like the Chinese, wear the finger-nails very long, and the ladies have them sometimes tipped with silver.

About eleven o'clock, Momfanoi, accompanied by another prince and a medical practitioner, on their way to visit his priestly brother, who was unwell, appeared on board. The Rajah left his seat, and knelt upon the deck during the visit, and Momfanoi assumed the vacated place. The prince was pleased to say on this occasion, that

the swords, the genuineness of which had been doubted at first, as he remarked, only by "small officers," had been tested by the King's assayer, and were pronounced to be good gold. This doubt had arisen from an appearance of verdigris at a point in the brazing, and from their light colour. The Siamese use no alloy in their manufactured gold, which is very fine, and of a very deep colour, almost orange. The prince who accompanied Momfanoi, though on terms of intimacy and in the boat sitting on the same seat with him, so soon as he got on board the junk, made his obeisance in form, and took a seat a little above the Rajah. The costume of both was simple, but costly. The under garment was of purple silk with a highly embroidered edge, over which was an exquisite scarf. When they took leave, the Rajah resumed his seat.

At one o'clock P.M. a dinner consisting of soups, curries, cutlets, ducks, chickens, and pork, with fruit and sweetmeats, was served up in gold and silver. There were twenty-six dishes for three persons, and no fewer than fifty-four gold vessels were used in the entertainment. There was no ostentation or seeming attempt at display; all appeared to be a matter of every-day occurrence. The hospitable old Rajah

forced upon the plates of his guests, litchis, from China and 'Romania,' a fruit resembling a date. He sat quietly the while chewing his betel, but occasionally got upon the table, that he might the more readily assist and point out to his guests those articles which he himself liked most. While arranging the dishes, the servants did not hesitate to mount the table and walk about upon the cloth. Before dinner was over, Momfanoi again visited the junk, when the same ceremonies as on his first visit were enacted; and after his departure the Rajah again took his seat.

At the end of nine hours the certificate of ratification, in Siamese, Chinese, Portuguese, and English, was ready to be appended to the Treaty. The same labour would have been performed in the United States, or Europe, in one-third of the time.

On the same evening Mr. Roberts waited on the acting P'hra Klang, to discuss a difficulty which had arisen, under the third article of the Treaty, relative to the measurement of the brig Maria Theresa. Mr. Roberts stated that the officers of the Government had measured from outside to outside of the vessel, instead of the deck. The P'hra Klang insisted that such was the manner of measuring both Siamese and Chinese junks, the decks of which extend between

the timbers. Mr. Roberts remarked that the Treaty had reference only to American built vessels. The P'hra Klang replied, that it was "an old custom, and therefore could not be altered." Mr. Roberts observed, then he should recommend the captain to protest at home against the violation of the Treaty, which would be referred to the Government at Washington, and result in an unpleasant controversy between the two countries. But as nothing could be decided without reference to the King, Mr. Roberts took leave and visited him on another occasion.

The Minister appeared to be inflexible. Mr. Roberts then stated, that unless American vessels were measured in conformity to the third article of the Treaty, it would become his duty to make it known forthwith to the Government of the United States, adding, that the Captain of the Maria Theresa would certainly protest against such departure from the Treaty. During the day the brig had been measured, but Mr. Roberts had not been informed of it until after this discussion.

The captain and supercargo were now sent for, and stated that the vessel had been measured, by taking half her length, and at that point, to ascertain her breadth of beam. The

deck was there measured across from one waterway seam to the other, entirely omitting the water-ways, and taking in only a part of the gunwale, which mode was so favourable as to lessen the duties to the amount of 170 ticâls. The P'hra Klang asked whether they were satisfied with the mode of measurement. They replied, "Entirely so." "Then," said the P'hra Klang, "I am glad that all difficulties have been surmounted; this shall be the precedent for measuring all American vessels in future."

The sixteenth of April had been appointed, four or five days previously, for admitting the American Embassy to an audience with the King. The day was oppressively hot, the thermometer in an airy apartment standing at 98° F. It was calm, and not a breath ruffled the tranquil bosom of the river, which was like a stream of molten gold, stirred only by numerous gondolas, skimming with feathery lightness over its bright surface. Many persons had come forth to view the passing procession, and many crowded the verandas of the floating-houses, though no "Morning Herald," or "Evening Post," circulates the news through this vast population; they seemed to be aware of the event from instinct.

At nine o'clock, accompanied by twenty-two officers from the squadron in full dress, and the

master and supercargo of the Maria Theresa, Mr. Roberts embarked in three gondolas, each rowed by thirty oars. Though permission had been granted for the gentlemen of the Maria Theresa, the request of Mr. Roberts in behalf of the American missionaries was refused on the ground that it was not according to the Siamese custom.

The boats proceeded at a rapid rate, our band making the still air resound with "Hail, Columbia!" and we were much surprised at the crowds of spectators who awaited our landing. Orderlies armed with rattans and bamboos, the application of which was not spared on the naked backs of the Siamese, were constantly active in making way for the procession.

On entering the first gate, they found a number of fleet ponies, caparisoned in the Eastern style, each attended by two grooms. The scene was as novel to the animals as to the American officers; and they testified their impatience by kicking their nettlesome heels merrily among the crowd. Here the procession was joined by several Arabs, Persians and Jews, in the rich costumes of their respective countries. After some little delay, arising from time occupied in selecting horses, the company mounted, the short stir-

rups bringing the knees almost to the chin, and made their way through the multitude to the second gate, where the officers left their swords, it being contrary to etiquette to appear armed in the presence of Siamese royalty.

They were received in the Hall of Justice by the Phya-pi-pat-kosa, who was as usual full of life and conversation. Water, betel, and cigars were offered. While waiting for the King to signify his readiness to receive them, they found time to discover a large green snake coiling itself among the tiles of the Hall, over their heads. Lizards and ge-kôs were numerous. The Siamese expressed their astonishment that such trifles should attract attention; habit makes men indifferent to the most loathsome objects.

At the second gate, files of soldiers encumbered with uniforms of red and green, and arms which they could scarcely manage, amounting to several thousands, lined the various avenues. The bayonets were fixed with the scabbards upon them. The artillery were armed with sheathed broadswords, and stood with the hand upon the hilt, ready to draw. Pikemen and clubmen also appeared in the military array. Whoever has seen at any large theatre, a grand army badly drilled, may imagine the Siamese troops,

and conceive what genuine "food for powder," they would make before a handful of disciplined troops.

At this gate the band was compelled to await the return of the embassy.

At the Hall of Justice, the elephants were paraded as on a former occasion. The crowd was great, but whenever they encroached beyond bounds, they were at once severely repulsed by the rattan. At the end of half an hour, the procession again moved forward through two other gates. The number of troops were here much augmented, and near the palace was a body armed with shields and swords. On each side of the path along which the procession advanced three hundred musicians in double files were ranged, screeching out on hautboys and beating on tom-toms, producing a most percusive monotony. The walks now became broader. The eye here and there caught a glimpse of a rich building, or spire glittering in the sun, through the foliage of the trees and shubbery planted in the enclosures.

The exterior of the audience-hall is not very remarkable. It has three entrances on each side, the doorways are ornamented with carving and Boudhist divinities, and within stood screens, painted in quaint devices, which conceal the interior.

The extent of the audience-chamber is thirty-five by seventy feet. The middle of the floor, about one-half of the whole width, is raised eighteen inches above the rest, leaving a sort of lobby on each side, equal to one-fourth of the breadth of the whole room, and extending its entire length. A row of six pillars, three feet square, stood on each edge of the middle floor; and the wall, ceiling, and pillars, were hung with red gilt paper, and the floors were carpeted. Chandeliers and lamps of various patterns were suspended from the ceiling, and numerous Chinese paintings and mirrors adorned the walls. From a central point, the floor gently rises in an inclined plane up to the throne, at the farthest end of the apartment. The throne itself is about six feet high, and large enough for one man to sit upon cross-legged; it is of gold, or richly gilt, and ornamented with diamonds and other precious stones. Behind it is a piece of ornamental architecture resembling an altar. A royal chat, an umbrella having five tops, one above the other, and diminishing in size, shades the monarch's seat; and on each side, extending to the pillars, were six other chats or chattahs, arranged so as to form an arc, which separates the King and court.

Mr. Roberts and his companions entered the

middle door of the front of the hall, and, passing round the screen, found themselves in the presence of His Magnificent Majesty, and the royal court of the magnificent kingdom of Thai. His Majesty, a fat man of about fifty, sat like the god Boudah, cross-legged upon his throne, enveloped in a rich mantle of gold tissue, chewing betel, and squirting saliva into a golden urn. Numerous attendants prepared his betel, and with large fans circulated the air about his Majestic Obesity, as he sat in the pomp and circumstance of state.

Except a long space, eight feet wide, in front of the throne, the whole floor was covered by nobles, courtiers and magnates of the land, in silk and gold costume, the fashion of which was a long tight jacket with short skirts, somewhat resembling the cut of an ancient coat of mail. There were several Arabs and Persians present, in rich Cashmere shawl turbans, contrasting their splendid statures with the squat forms of the Siamese; and their expressive countenances, strongly marked by the jetty whisker and antimony-shaded eye, outshone them in intelligence. Perhaps three hundred individuals composed this goodly company; every one crouching upon his knees and elbows, with the head bent upon the ground. The hall only admitted a subdued light.

Jewels appeared to advantage, and the diamonds and carbuncles on the King's person glittered and flashed all around like miniature lightning.

It was particularly remarked by several officers, that, notwithstanding the stipulation that our party should not appear in the presence armed, being contrary to court etiquette, many of the Siamese wore swords.

Such was the spectacle hall and court presented when the American Embassy passed the screen. There they removed their hats, and, as they advanced to the open alley above mentioned, made three bows according to previous agreement. At the lowest end of this alley, at a great distance from the throne, they sat down upon the carpet, carefully turning their feet behind, that His Magnificent Majesty might not be shocked by the sight of those lowly, booted members; for they did not consent, like the Anglo-Bengal mission under Mr. Burney, to leave their shoes outside and appear barefoot, at the risk of finding as he did, that they had been stolen.

Previously to his audience with the King in 1833, when negotiating the Treaty which was now being concluded, Mr. Roberts positively refused to take off his shoes on entering the presence, except on the condition that he should keep on his hat. After a great deal of discus-

sion, it was no longer insisted on that he should appear barefooted, and he was the first foreigner who, with his shoes on, saw His Majesty of Siam.

After being seated in this novel, and therefore somewhat uncomfortable position, they made three Siamese salams, and the whole court knocked their heads three times on the ground. His Magnificent Majesty expressed his satisfaction by squirting saliva into the golden spittoon, and renewing his quid of betel and areca-nut.

In front of the mission were displayed a part of the presents brought by Mr. Roberts, the whole being too bulky for such a pageant. Immediately after the salams were performed, a low, murmuring sound arose from behind the throne, which the interpreter stated proceeded from the King's secretary, reading the list of presents from the government of the United States to His Magnificent Majesty.

This over, the King addressed to Mr. Roberts several questions, which were filtered through three interpreters or secretaries. One crouched near the throne, and repeated in a low tone His Majesty's words to another, more than halfway down the hall, who repeated them in a still lower tone to Piadadè, the interpreter, who, being crouched near Mr. Roberts, whispered the sen-

tence in his ear. The replies were made through the same medium in the same manner.

When the King finishes his question, the secretary makes three salams and mentions the King's titles before he repeats to the second, and he goes through the same ceremony to the third. The answer begins with three salams from the interpreter, who repeats a string of titles, "P'hra, Putie, Chucka, Ka, Rap, Si, Klau, Si, Kla, Mom, Kà P'rah Putie Chow," Mr. Roberts, "Ka P'hra Râchâ, Tan, Krap, Thun, Hie, Sap, Thi, Fa, La, Ong, Thule, P'hra, Bat;" then follows the answer and three salams. As this form is invariable, it may be readily conceived how slow and fatiguing the intercourse with His Majesty must be. Nor is one certain that his expressions or words are faithfully conveyed to the "golden ear." Mr. Robert Hunter told me, that some years ago he had an audience with the King, who inquired whether he was not then making a great deal of money in his business. Mr. Hunter replied, that at first he had done very well, but for the past year he had lost a great deal. The interpreter conveyed the answer thus: "Mr. Hunter made money very fast the first years, but the last, he has not made so much." When Mr. Hunter explained the difference he had made in the answer, the inter-

preter replied, that he dared not tell His Magnificent Majesty any thing so unpleasant as to say, "Mr. Hunter had actually lost Money!"

A similar incident occurred in the present audience. The King stated that the Americans were on a footing with the English, which Mr. Roberts denied; saying, that such was not the spirit of the Treaty. The secretary nearest the King translated the reply; that Mr. Roberts *admitted it, and was very much obliged to His Majesty.* Mr. Hunter, who was present, informed Mr. Roberts of the misinterpretation. He repeated what he had at first said, which was then correctly rendered.

During the interview, the King inquired after the health of the President, after that, of "all the great men of the United States," that of the crews of the Peacock and Enterprise; when they left America; where they had been; what had been Mr. Roberts's state of health in the three years he had been absent from Siam, &c.

At the expiration of three quarters of an hour, a sharp metallic sound was heard, and the audience was closed by drawing a curtain of silk and gold across the hall, in front of the throne, hiding His Majesty from view. The embassy then made three salams, and the whole court bent their heads three times to the floor.

During the audience water and betel were served. As the chamber was open, swallows flew in and out, and occasionally alighted on the chandeliers.

The gentlemen were now conducted to see His Majesty's stud, several elephants, and, last the Wât, which has been already described.

CHAPTER VII.

SKETCHES IN SIAM.

April, 1836.

The 18th of April had been appointed for the delivery of the copy of the Treaty, ratified on the part of Siam. The barge of ceremony in which we had come from the ship was ready to return. Owing to a superstitious notion of the Siamese that it would bring misfortune upon any house into which it should enter after being delivered into our hands, the Treaty was to be received on board the vessel, and not landed again on any account, as such an act would be the cause of distress in many minds.

About one o'clock P. M. Mr. Roberts was informed that the golden barges of the King were in sight. Accompanied by the officers in full dress and the band, he repaired to the vessel of ceremony, where he found the Phya-pi-pat-

kosa had already arrived. There were three long barges, richly gilt, decorated with pennons, and each rowed by one hundred oars. The curtains were of cloth of gold with scarlet ground. That which bore the Treaty led the van. The Treaty was in a box, covered with coarse yellow silk interwoven with gold. This was placed on a silver dish, which rested on a salver with a high foot of the same metal. Over it hung a scarlet canopy, itself shaded by a royal chat. The scarlet uniforms of the men, and the measured stroke of their hundred oars; the flaunting banners, the music of their pipes and drums, and the glitter of gold and silver in the sun, formed a pretty pageant, and indicated with what scrupulons ceremony every thing is conducted at the Magnificent Court of Siam.

As the casket was raised, the Siamese band played plaintively and soft. The Phya-pi-pat-kosa conveyed it to Mr. Roberts, at the same time making a salam, to the royal seal, attached to the Treaty. Mr. Roberts received it, and, in respect to the King, raised it as high as his head, at the same time our band struck up "Hail, Columbia!" He then placed it upon a stand which had been provided, and deposited it in the cabin of the junk of ceremony.

Speedy preparations were now made for leav-

ing Bankok. Mr. Roberts, in his private capacity, signed a memorial to the Chao Phya P'hra Klang from the missionaries, praying that sufficient ground might be allotted to them whereon to erect a church and suitable dwellings, with permission to appropriate a part as a place of sepulture, the same having been granted to the Portuguese Roman Catholics, Mussulmans, Chinese, and others.

Before leaving the house wherein the Embassy was lodged, the Phya-Ratsa-pa-vade paid a farewell visit, attended by a numerous retinue. He expressed a strong feeling in behalf of Americans, and requested Mr. Roberts to furnish American ship-masters coming to Siam with letters to him, that he might to the best of his abilities facilitate their business. He assured Mr. Roberts that he was entirely disinterested, and would receive no compensation for any service he might render. To manifest his regard for Mr. Roberts, he presented him with several toys for his children, but Mr. Roberts would receive no present *for himself* from any individual of the court.

In the evening Mr. Roberts paid a final visit to the Phya-si-pi-pat, and met there the Phya-pi-pat-kosa. He was entertained by a band of amateur musicians, playing singly and in concert,

on instruments resembling guitars, hautboys, &c. It was stated that the Siamese use more than a hundred different musical instruments.

At midnight, the Embassy being concluded, the junk of ceremony weighed anchor, and was towed by three galleys, assisted by the ebb tide. At noon the next day they anchored at Paknam; and at midnight again got under way, and reached the ship about noon on the 20th of April.*

Of the history of Siam, we have been able to collect very little information. It appears to have early attracted the attention of commercial adventurers from Europe, and as early as 1610 an English factory was established at Bankok by Captain Middleton, which subsisted for some years; but it appears to have been withdrawn subsequently to 1623, when the King of Siam, and the English of Jacatrà were in correspondence. In 1662, the King expressed a desire that the English should settle a factory in his dominions, though the Dutch had at that time a large commercial intercourse with Siam, lading their forty ships yearly. In 1664, they quarrelled

* For an account of the events which transpired at Bankok after my departure from that city on the 12th of April, I am indebted to Mr. Roberts and to Mr. Wm. Rogers Taylor of the Navy, who kindly placed their journals in my hands.

with the King, and the next year threw obstructions in the way of the English trade in those seas, which was the chief object that provoked their jealousy and resentment. The settling of a factory was, under these circumstances, deferred, although it is stated, about this time the nation was in high favour with the King of Siam, who gave them a recommendation to the Emperor of Japan, whose sister he had married. The subject was resumed in 1671, and the directors of the English company approved the proposal of establishing a factory at Bankok, if practicable. In 1674, the King renewed his overtures for an English factory in his dominions, which was accordingly established in 1676, with the view of eventually opening a trade with Japan. At the commencement of this intercourse great expectations were formed of the tin trade of Siam, which was then almost exclusively in the hands of the Dutch; and it was thought that the Siam trade generally would prove more beneficial than even that of Japan. That country was also considered capable of affording a market for a great quantity of broad-cloth; and the English agent at Bantam, wrote to the King of Siam, recommending to him the encouragement of a broad-cloth trade, as necessary to the maintenance of an English factory in

his dominions. In 1679, it was discovered that Siam itself consumed but little broad-cloth; the sale of that commodity depending on China and Japan; it was therefore decided the next year, to recall the factory from Bankok. But in 1683 and 1684, it was resolved to re-establish it, the station being favourable to the prosecution of a Japan trade, in which great hopes were indulged. Accordingly Sir John Child, in 1685, addressed a letter to the Prime Minister of Siam, explaining the difference between the Company's servants and private traders, concerning which some misunderstandings had arisen. Another letter was afterwards addressed to the King. It was observed, that this prince was favourably disposed towards foreigners, and that Siam was a place of considerable commerce; and therefore the Company's former losses were to be attributed to mismanagement, and the malignity of the Prime Minister, Constantine Faulcon.

In 1687, an insurrection of the Macassars took place at Bankok, by which the country was thrown into confusion, and the Prime Minister narrowly escaped. The Macassarese were all destroyed. The Company's losses arising out of the troubles, as appears from a letter from the President of Fort St. George to the King of Siam, dated in 1687, amounted to 65,000*l.*,

which satisfaction was demanded, or war would be declared. The next year there was a massacre at Bankok. The Company were also advised that six French men-of-war, with 1400 soldiers, had arrived to assist the King, and that Constantine Faulcon had been made a Count of France.

In 1705, the Governor of Fort St. George addressed a letter to the King of Siam, desiring a renewal of former friendship, which had been interrupted by the ambitious minister. In 1712, the P'hra Klang invited them to make a settlement, offering the same facilities as had been granted to the Dutch. At this time, however, Siam appears to have been in a state of internal disorder, and to have continued so for many years afterwards.*

In 1822, the Anglo-Bengal Government despatched a mission to Bankok, under Mr. Crawfurd, accounts of which were published by him, and by Mr. Finlayson, both of which have already been referred to. Mr. Crawfurd concluded a Treaty of amity and commerce, which is probably advantageous to English trade. In 1833, the Government of the United States sent an agent to the capital of Siam, who succeeded in negotiating a Treaty, which was ratified by both governments and exchanged in April, 1836.

* Asiatic Journal for 1822.

As early as 1672, the Siamese evinced a very friendly disposition towards the French, and particularly towards Louis XIV., which is attributed to the labours of some French missionaries who visited Bankok about that time.

At this period, a Greek, or, some say, an Italian adventurer of restless and ambitious spirit, named Constantine Faulcon, had so crept into the sovereign's favour as to be appointed P'hra Klang. Forgetting himself in his prosperity, the minister aspired to wear the crown, and circumstances seemed to countenance a hope of his success. Opportunity brings out the scoundrel: many a villain has probably died with a reputation for virtue, simply because he has never been lured to vice by circumstances offering an easy accomplishment of his wishes for wealth and aggrandizement. The Prince was weak, valetudinary, and without posterity, and his minister ruled him, as well as his people, despotically. He formed a project for succeeding to the crown, and it appears he afterwards contemplated the idea of dethroning his benefactor. For the execution of his plan, he fancied he could make use of the French, and, in 1684, sent ambassadors to France, offering to the monarch the alliance of his master, and to the French merchants the ports of Siam.

The haughty genius of Louis XIV. drew

advantages from this Embassy. His flatterers persuaded him that his glory was so universal, that it attracted to him the homage of the East. He despatched a squadron, with Jesuits and merchants, and a Treaty was concluded between the two Kings, the French ambassadors acting under the instruction of Father Tachard. The Company anticipated great advantages from their establishment; and their hopes were not without foundation.

In the sixteenth century, numbers of ships visited the roads of Siam, from eastern Asia, when agriculture, mining, and manufacturing flourished. Soon afterwards, despotism grew to its full height, and consequently the affairs of the kingdom fell into confusion and languor. In this condition of decay, the French found the country on their arrival; it was very poor, without arts, and subject to a despot. The little costly merchandise used in the court, and in the houses of the opulent, was from Japan; the Siamese had taken the manufactures of that country into exclusive favour, and maintained a high respect for the Japanese.

It was difficult to change their opinions in this respect, however necessary it was to do so to effect the sale of French goods. If any thing were likely to bring about such a change, it was

preaching the Christian doctrines, which the missionaries had done with some success; but the Jesuits were too much attached to Faulcon, and abused their favour at court; they became odious, and the odium fell upon the religion itself. The people, and particularly the Talapoins, were shocked that thay should erect churches before they were converts enough to require them.

The fort at the mouth of the Meniam was conceded to the French, and they possessed many advantages, which, had they been properly managed, might have led to many others. It was an opening to the trade of Ava, Pegu, and Laos, but the Company's factors and officers, their troops and the Jesuits did not perceive it. Finally, they became so closely connected with Faulcon, that, lending him their aid, when that minister fell, just as he was on the point of perpetrating his designs, they were also involved in his ruin, and the fortresses of Bankok which had been garrisoned by the French, were wrested from them by this indolent and cowardly people.*

* Establecimientos Ultramarinos. Madrid, 1786.

TREATY OF AMITY AND COMMERCE

BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY THE MAGNIFICENT KING OF SIAM, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

His Majesty, the Sovereign and Magnificent King in the city of Sia-Yut'hia, has appointed the Chao Phya P'hra Klang, one of the first ministers of the state, to treat with Edmund Roberts, Minister of the United States of America, who has been sent by the Government thereof, on its behalf, to form a Treaty of sincere friendship and entire good faith between the two nations. For this purpose the Siamese and the citizens of the United States of America shall, with sincerity, hold commercial intercourse in the ports of their respective nations as long as Heaven and Earth shall endure.

This Treaty is concluded on Wednesday, the last of the fourth month of the year 1194, called Pi-marong chatava-sok (or the year of the dragon), corresponding to the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1833. One original is written in Siamese, the other in English; but as the Siamese are ignorant of English, and the Americans of Siamese, a Portuguese and a Chinese translation are annexed, to serve as tes-

timony to the contents of the Treaty. The writing is of the same tenor and date in all the languages aforesaid: it is signed, on the one part, with the name of the Chao Phya P'hra Klang, and sealed with the seal of the lotus flower of glass; on the other part it is signed with the name of Edmund Roberts, and sealed with a seal containing an eagle and stars.

One copy will be kept in Siam, and another will be taken, by Edmund Roberts, to the United States. If the Government of the United States shall ratify the said Treaty, and attach the seal of the Government, then Siam will also ratify it on its part, and attach the seal of its Government.

ARTICLE I. There shall be a perpetual peace between the United States of America and the Magnificent King of Siam.

ART. II. The citizens of the United States shall have free liberty to enter all the ports of the kingdom of Siam, with their cargoes, of whatever kind the said cargoes may consist; and they shall have liberty to sell the same to any of the subjects of the King, or others, who may wish to purchase the same, or barter the same for any produce or manufactures of the Kingdom, or other articles that may be found there. No prices shall be fixed by the officers of the

King on the articles to be sold by the merchants of the United States, or the merchandise they may wish to buy: but the trade shall be free on both sides to sell, buy or exchange, on the terms and for the prices the owners may think fit. Whenever the said citizens of the United States, shall be ready to depart, they shall be at liberty so to do, and the proper officers shall furnish them with passports, provided always there be no legal impediment to the contrary. Nothing contained in this article shall be understood as granting permission to import and sell munitions of war to any person excepting the King, who, if he does not require, will not be bound to purchase them; neither is permission granted to import opium, which is contraband; or *to export rice, which cannot be embarked as an article of commerce.* These only are prohibited.

ART. III. Vessels of the United States entering any port within His Majesty's dominions, and selling or purchasing cargoes of merchandise, shall pay, in lieu of import and export duties, tonnage, licence, or trade, or any other charge whatever, a measurement duty, as follows:—The measurement shall be made from side to side, in the middle of the vessel's length, and if a single-decked vessel on such single deck; if otherwise, on the lower deck. On

every vessel selling merchandise, the sum of one thousand seven hundred ticâls or *bats* shall be paid for every Siamese fathom in breadth so measured; the said fathom being computed to contain seventy-eight English or American inches, corresponding to ninety-six Siamese inches: but if the said vessel should come without merchandise, and purchase a cargo with specie only, she shall then pay the sum of fifteen hundred ticâls or bats, for each and every fathom before described. Furthermore, neither the aforesaid measurement duty nor any other charge whatever shall be paid by any vessel of the United States that enters a Siamese port for the purpose of refitting, or for refreshments, or to inquire the state of the markets.

ART. IV. If hereafter the duties payable by foreign vessels be diminished in favour of any other nation, the same diminution shall be made in favour of the vessels of the United States.

ART. V. If any vessel of the United States shall suffer shipwreck on any part of the Magnificent King's dominions, the persons escaping from the wreck shall be taken care of, and hospitably entertained, at the expense of the King, until they shall find an opportunity to be returned to their country, and the property saved from such wreck shall be carefully preserved, and

restored to its owners:—and the United States will repay all expenses incurred by His Majesty on account of such wreck.

ART. VI. If any citizen of the United States coming to Siam for the purpose of trade shall contract debts to any individual of Siam, or if any individual of Siam shall contract debts to any citizen of the United States, the debtor shall be obliged to bring forward and sell all his goods to pay his debts therewith. When the product of such *bonâ fide* sale shall not suffice, he shall be no longer liable for the remainder; nor shall the creditor be able to retain him as a slave, imprison, flog or otherwise punish him, to compel the payment of any balance; but shall leave him at perfect liberty.

ART. VII. Merchants of the United States coming to trade in the kingdom of Siam, and wishing to rent houses therein, shall rent the King's factories and pay the customary rent of the country. If the said merchants bring their goods on shore, the King's officers shall take account thereof, but shall not levy any duty thereupon.

ART. VIII. If any citizens of the United States, or their vessels or other property shall be taken by pirates and brought within the dominions of the Magnificent King, the persons shall be set

at liberty and the property restored to its owners.

ART. IX. Merchants of the United States trading in the kingdom of Siam, shall respect and follow the laws and customs of the country in all points.

ART. X. If hereafter any foreign nation, other than the Portuguese, shall request and obtain His Majesty's consent to the appointment of consuls to reside in Siam, the United States shall be at liberty to appoint consuls to reside in Siam, equally with such other foreign nation.

CERTIFICATE OF RATIFICATION.

"This is to certify, that Edmund Roberts, a Special Envoy of the United States of America, delivered and exchanged a ratified treaty on the day and date hereafter mentioned, and which was signed and sealed in the royal city of Sia-Yut'hia, being the capital of the kingdom of Siam, on the twentieth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, corresponding to the fourth month of the year of the Dragon.

"In witness whereof, We, the Magnificent King of Siam, do ratify and confirm the said Treaty, by affixing thereunto our Royal Seal, as well as the seals of all the great ministers of State, at the city of Sia-Yut'hia on the fourteenth

day of the fifth month of the year, called the Monkey, being the Sakarat or year Eleven hundred and ninety-eight, and which corresponds to the fourteenth day of the month of April, being the year of Christ, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six."

Here follow the seven seals of the Empire. They are blurred impressions, in red ink, about two inches and a half in diameter, bearing curious devices.

1st. The royal seal of Siam, or P'hrah, I, Era Pot, presents an elephant with three heads, having on each side two royal chats, and bearing on his back something resembling a castle; perhaps it is the gateway of a wat.

2nd. The device, which is almost illegible, is an animal compounded of a dragon, lion, &c. This seal is called P'rah Ra-chasè, and is used by the Chao Phya Bodin Desha, or Khroma-ha-thai, formerly called Phya Chakri. He has the general superintendence of the northern provinces, adjoining Pegu, and of the principalitie of Laos and Cambodia.

3rd. The device, a griffin. This is the seal of Chao-Phya-Mahasena or Khroma Kalahom. He is of equal rank with the last, and holds the office of Commander-in-chief of all the land and sea forces, with the general superintendence of

the south-western provinces, even to that of the last tributary Malay Rajah.

4th. Is called, Trah Boa Kean. Its device is a Boudha in the usual position, holding in one hand a blown lotus flower, and in the other its leaf. This is the seal of the Chao Phya P'hra Klang, or Khroma-tha, the minister of commerce and foreign affairs. He superintends the south-eastern provinces adjoining Cochin-China.

5th. Is named Trah Prah None Tak An, and the device is an angel astride on the shoulders of a man or demon. It is the seal of the Chao Phya Therema Terat, or Khroma Wang, governor of the royal palace.

6th. Called Trah P'hra Peroon, the device of which is an angel riding on a serpent, holding a flaming sword. This is the seal of the Chao Phya Phollatape, or Khroma-na, who is minister of agriculture and produce.

7th. Is the Trah (seal), P'rah Yame Kesing, bearing for device an angel riding a lion and bearing a lance. It is the seal of the Chao Phya Somarat, or Yomarat; or Khroma Merang, the minister of criminal justice.

The presents made by the Government of the United States, consisted of lamps, nankins, carpeting, male and female costumes of the United States. Two very large and elegant

mirrors, an American flag, shawls, a set of United States' coins, and two splendid swords in gold scabbards.

The Envoy distributed presents among several of the Siamese officers, consisting of pistols, fowling-pieces, money, &c.

The exception of rice as an article of export, made in the second article of the above Treaty, robs it of a great part of its value, because rice is an important article in the trade with China. Vessels loaded with it are exempted from paying, what is known as "cumshaw duties," amounting, in many cases, to three thousand dollars; and for this reason, they often put into the rice ports of Java, or into Manilla, on their outward voyage from the United States to Canton, to load with this article. Therefore, it is desirable to add to the places beyond the Cape of Good Hope whereat rice may be obtained, for the advantage of the Chinese commerce of America.

SKETCHES IN COCHIN-CHINA.

CHAPTER VIII.

SKETCHES IN COCHIN-CHINA.

May, 1836.

On the 20th of April, Mr. Roberts and the officers, all of them unwell and some of them seriously ill, returned on board. The Prince Momfanoi attempted to visit us, but was so much affected by sea-sickness after clearing the mouth of the Meinam, that he put back. In testimony of his regard, he sent to several of the officers little curiosities, as books of the talipot leaf, &c., which they reciprocated in such books as they thought might be useful and entertaining to him. Among them were, Hinton's Views of the United States, Herschell's Astronomy, Duponceau's Constitution of the United States, Cobbett's Advice, and several works on gunnery and military tactics, &c., far exceeding in value the presents of Momfanoi.

At sunset we were under way, and I believe no one in the squadron felt the least regret upon taking a final leave of Siam. In all probability not one of us will ever visit it again, and we hope it may be long before any of our ships of war will be found in the waters of the Gulf. The officers and crews now felt severely the effects of Eastern tropical climates; all, with few exceptions, had been seriously ill once, some of them twice; the last two months had been spent in contending against wind and currents; the ship was almost an hospital; four men had died since leaving Batavia, the provisions were of inferior quality, and were fast lessening in quantity; a general languor possessed our bodies, and even the stoutest hearts were at times dejected. We looked for relief in clearing the Gulf, and hoped to find fresh and favourable breezes in the China Sea, which would soon waft us to some invigorating climate.

The passage down the Gulf of Siam was retarded by calms and very light winds. The air was moist and sultry, and the "sun appeared as if shining through a wet blanket." The number of sick was augmented, and in almost all the cases, as in cholera, the skin was cold and clammy (the Genius of the disease still hovering over us), evincing a strong predisposition to internal

congestions. Nor did this state of things change immediately after reaching the China Sea.

For several days, while in the Gulf, we were visited by many pretty fly-catchers, which hopped about with perfect confidence, picking up flies on deck; they often received food from the hand, and sometimes, when we were sitting quiet, would alight upon our persons. They flew in and out of the cabin during the day, and took shelter there at night.

In the Gulf we saw several white dolphins. Siam presents us with a great number of animals, which differ in a remarkable manner from the same species in other parts of the world. The white elephant, the white squirrel, the white ape, the white monkey, white as snow, white lizards, white dolphin, &c. Mr. Finlayson is of opinion that they are white for the same reason, which is not known, that produces the variety in the human species, known as albino. But after a pretty careful examination of several of the above animals, I am disposed to differ from that gentleman. The iris of the white elephant is not white in all specimens; nor was it white in any specimen of the white squirrel which fell under my observation.

On the 2nd of May, we were near the island of Pulo Oby, situated in latitude 8° 25′ north,

not far from the coast of Cambodia, which is low and beautifully green. The island is high and clothed in a luxuriant vegetation from its summit to the water's edge; but from want of level land, adapted to cultivation, is incapable of supporting any considerable population, and has only two or three inhabitants. It is often visited by vessels for water, which is of good quality and easily procured.

This day we had the melancholy duty of committing to the deep the remains of Henry Mount (marine), who died from the effects of repeated attacks of dysentery and diarrhœa.

The next morning the Peacock anchored on the northern side of the island, and procured about a thousand gallons of water. The watering party brought off a pigeon of a yellowish white colour, the wings tipped with black, several squirrels and crows.

On the 4th we got under way, and pursued our voyage along shore, the sea being smooth and the wind fair, but the currents were found to be strong and rapid. The temperature became more tolerable, but there was no diminution of the sick list.

On the 6th we passed Pulo Condore, whereon the English had an establishment last century; but the colony was cruelly massacred by the

Malays, since which they have not attempted to make another settlement there. On the 7th, all the bread in the ship was found to be in a condition of decay, and, after a careful survey, it was condemned and thrown overboard, leaving us destitute of every article of diet, except hard salted meat and rice. It would be difficult to present to those who did not witness it, an adequate idea of the distressing state of things existing on board the ship. One-fourth of the crew were confined by sickness to their hammocks, and those who were not under medical treatment, enfeebled by previous disease, were scarcely able to move about the decks; and, had we been so unfortunate as to encounter a gale, I doubt whether the physical force on board was sufficient to take care of the ship. It is the experience of contrasts like these which endears us to our home, and enhances its pleasures, showing the miserable chances which ever hang round a sailor's existence. But it is a gift mercifully bestowed upon all those who follow the seas, to forget anxiety and danger the moment that they are past, and to feel themselves exempt for the future.

The whole coast of Cochin-China, is beautiful and grand. The shore is indented by frequent bays; and the mountains, which rise several

thousand feet in height, are broken into innumerable valleys and ravines. Numerous small-craft were seen plying up and down the coast, but none came to us. There is only wanting a history of daring deeds connected with this scenery to cast over it the interest and poetic charm which renders a sight of the Sierra Nevada, and the blue hills of Granada so delightful. Its beauties are almost lost upon those who, like us, are ignorant of the prominent events in the history of this distant realm, which may perhaps be sufficiently important to make these shores classic ground.

At sunset, on the 13th, Turon Point was in sight. Many fishing-boats were seen under the high land. The breeze was very light, the S. W. monsoon having not yet fairly set in, and we did not gain the anchorage until next day.

At noon we anchored in Turon bay. An irregular, mountainous country encloses an oval sheet of water, probably five miles by two, in which there is good anchorage; where vessels may lie entirely land-locked. The green hills and mountains in the back ground, crowned with fleecy clouds, and a thread of white sand beach bounding the margin, with no habitation in sight, give a wild and picturesque character to the scenery. Close in shore was a dismantled

junk, and a few canoes, with long outriggers, were skimming over the bay before a gentle breeze. A spy-glass discovered to us the signs of a village, at a short distance from the mouth of a rivulet, which emptied into the bay.

We had scarcely anchored before a canoe came alongside, but again departed without giving or receiving information, because the people on board only spoke Cochin-Chinese. About five o'clock in the evening we were visited by three canoes, larger and better looking than any we had yet seen. They were decorated with pennons, which marked them as the property of the state. The principal one carried the three visiting officers in the bow, attended by a guard of eight soldiers, in long red jackets, with blue facings, bare legs, and black turbans, under glazed basket helmets. The officers were immediately conducted to the cabin, where they seated themselves on chairs; but very soon slipped off their shoes and drew their heels under them, while their attendants squatted on the deck. The principal man among them was remarkable for a very long, sparsely-growing beard, which he was at great pains to stroke, or draw through his fingers, to keep it properly disposed, whenever disturbed by the breeze. The three were dressed alike, in a blue silk

frock, buttoned far over on the left breast with filigree buttons, silk pantaloons and black crape turbans, bare legs, and wooden-soled shoes. The costumes of the attendants were of similar fashion but of less costly materials, and they were barefoot. Each officer was accompanied by a sword-bearer, and each attendant carried two crimped silk reticules, in form of a shell, connected by a long cord, passing over the neck and shoulders To the cord were attached a metallic toothpick and spoon for the ear. The reticules contained areca-nut, tobacco, and cigars, which were constantly supplied to the great men.

By means of a limited vocabulary, made by Mr. Roberts, in January, 1833, when at Vunglam in the province of Fuyen, we were enabled to make them comprehend the object of the ship's visit to Turon. The scene of this interview was curious, both to behold and hear. The language of the Cochin-Chinese was uttered in a soft singing tone, varying like the recitative part of an Italian opera. Their manners were gentle, and at once placed them in our estimation far above the Siamese. They chewed areca-nut or smoked cigars, made of cut tobacco, rolled in dry corn husks, while they discoursed, very little to our edification.

Mr. Roberts confided to them a letter, prepared in French and English, addressed to the Prime Minister at Hué, the capital, where, it was presumed, the French language was understood, from the number of Frenchmen formerly employed in the government; as well as from the French missionaries residing in the country. This letter announced our arrival and the object of our visit, requesting that despatch might be used, on account of the unhealthy state of the vessel, as well as on account of Mr. Roberts's serious indisposition. The officers received the communication, and we understood them that an answer might be expected in three days.

While in the cabin, some of the inferior officers, supposing, as a matter of course, that we were here for the purposes of trade, measured the tonnage of the ship. At the end of an hour, all took leave, by shaking hands, offering the palm upwards.

Early the next morning, in spite of a slight shower, I accompanied Lieutenant Turner on shore. We entered a quiet stream about two hundred yards wide, and did not proceed up it a much greater distance, before we were hailed from the shore, and gathered from the significant gestures of an individual whom we recognised as one of the party of the day before, that we

must land. Several junks and small boats were secured to the shore by hawsers. The river runs through a level plain. At this point there were two or three sheds, beneath which as many boats were hauled up and under repair, but no one was as yet at work. Near one of these we landed, and were received by three or four persons, and among them the officer of yesterday. While one hand was employed with a fan, held to shade his eyes from the rising sun, he pointed to the village with the other, at the same time pronouncing the word "mandarin." We now comprehended that we were to see the man of consequence, and after passing the sheds, followed our conductor over a green meadow of little extent. Five minutes' walk brought us to the edge of the town. On our left was a fort, on our right a few huts, and in front of us what we presumed might be the town-hall. The news of our arrival had gone abroad, and there was a considerable turn out of naked boys and girls who followed after us; and on our way, we saw some mothers who peeped forth from their huts, holding a "toddling wee thing" by the hand, while an infant was suspended on the back. They abandoned their occupations, and gazed at us with no little wonder, while our appearance to the children seemed to be rather a source of

alarm. A glance showed them to be in our estimation deficient in comeliness and cleanliness; nay, they were filthy-looking people, little ones and all.

A rude paling separated the town-hall from the common road. It stood back about thirty yards, and consisted of an extensive roof of tiles, supported by a back and two lateral walls, the front being open to a sort of veranda, made by prolonging the roof and supporting the eaves on stout wooden posts. The floor was raised about three feet above the ground. Its area was about thirty by seventy feet. In the middle of the veranda stood a rough table of the height of the floor, and joined to it; and a chair and bamboo settle were placed on each side of it. Opposite to the table, the floor was covered by a rattan mat, six feet square, on which sat *à la Turque*, the Mandarin, who slipped off his shoes and assumed the place, the moment he perceived our approach. A broad pavement led from the gateway to the table, so that we advanced directly in front of the officer, and, by his gesticulated invitation, seated ourselves in the chairs.

The mandarin was a good-humoured looking personage, with a fat flabby face, his cheeks hanging down like those of a well-fed pig; his eyes were lack-lustre, and deeply sunk in their sockets,

and when he laughed they almost disappeared. His short fat form was clothed in a blue silk frock, and white silk pantaloons, made very broad at the bottom, and his merry countenance was shaded by a full black crape turban.

It was plainly to be seen that our visit was somewhat too early, for there was a considerable bustle among his half-dozen attendants, who, on receiving some orders in very imperative tones, ran off in different directions. Presently half a dozen soldiers in red jackets, dirty breeches, bare legs, and glazed helmets, armed with spears, hurried in, one after the other, and were marshalled into file. In the course of a very few minutes the number increased to forty men, of whom eighteen were armed with spears, twelve feet long, fourteen with French muskets, and the rest with long two-handed swords. The last had each a rattan fixed on the scabbard of their swords, and each wore a large patch of green cloth on the breast. The sleeves of the soldiers' jackets, from the elbow to the hand, were either white, blue, or green, which probably distinguished the companies to which they belonged. At last they were disposed in double files, the spearmen in the rear, from the gate to the veranda, on each side of the pavement.

The soldier who arrived last, received a repri-

mand, and laid down on the pavement, upon his face; but the old mandarin vociferated, and he hastened to the rear of one of the files, and assumed the same position. One of the swordsmen then struck him, with the end of his rattan, at least two dozen blows over the back; but his clothes were so loose that the infliction was at little cost of pain. After the chastisement, he assumed his place in the ranks. There was evidently a strong desire on the part of the mandarin, that his guard should appear to advantage, and that he himself should be looked on by us as the man of authority.

Tea was immediately placed upon the table, in coarse china pots, with cups of Delf ware, spoons of the same material, and common brown sugar in a saucer.

Being destitute of an interpreter, we were obliged to communicate our wants by drawing a bullock, a fowl, an egg, &c., which were comprehended, and assented to by the old mandarin, who, nodding and laughing, with his mouth full of areca-nut, which he took from a blue silk reticule beside him, gave the necessary orders. While we were carrying on this negotiation, some of the boat's crew had wandered towards the fort, but were immediately brought back.

In a few minutes a number of women gathered

in front of the gate, with baskets of fruit, eggs, fish, dried and fresh, hens, ducks, &c., which they offered at exorbitant prices: we went among them and found they were generally willing to accept one-half, and frequently one-fourth of their original demands. We had only Spanish dollars, but we soon got them changed in Cochin-Chinese cash, a brittle coin of tutenague, the size of a cent, with a square hole in the centre, by which they were strung on rattans, two or three feet in length. This money, worth about a dollar a thousand, was not counted, but measured by the eye, and so much of a string offered as the price of the article bargained for.

Among other venders, were *restaurans ambulans,* with fish, broiled on wooden skewers, and jars of fish pickle which were strongly urged upon our attention. There was a good deal of talking and excitement among the people while our trafficking continued, which at the end of an hour was cut short by the mandarin driving off all the hawksters, and signifying to us that for this time we had purchased enough. We accordingly took leave with what we had, and returned on board.

Among these people diseases of the skin are very common; we scarcely met an individual who was not affected by some disorder of the

kind. This is probably owing to their filthy habits, both in diet and dress. They wear silk next to their skins, which is seldom changed until it be worn out; and they prefer stale, or partially incubated eggs to fresh ones.

The faces of the Cochin-Chinese are flat, and their complexion much lighter than that of the Siamese. The back part of the head is more developed, and in accordance with this configuration, we find them much more active. Their average stature is probably less, and does not exceed five feet two inches.

On the 17th, Cochin-Chinese officers, who visited us on the day of our arrival, came on board in a long canoe, pulling forty oars. They were seated in the bows, the place of honour with these people, under the shade of an umbrella, and on this occasion were accompanied by an individual, who, besides Cochin-Chinese, spoke Malay. We had on board a Dutch passenger from Batavia, who spoke French and Malay, and thus armed, we held a much more satisfactory intercourse than we had done hitherto.

They were received in the cabin, where they disposed of themselves as they did on their first visit. They inquired the respective rank of the officers present, but were unwilling to believe that Mr. Roberts was the Envoy, because he did

not, like the Commodore and Captain, wear epaulettes. To this subject they frequently recurred, and did not appear to be satisfied in the end. This should be a hint to future diplomatists to Cochin-China, to adorn themselves with some glittering badge of distinction. They stated that the Emperor was not at the capital, and we should be obliged still to wait five days, before an answer could be returned to Mr. Roberts's communication. They voluntarily offered permission to the officers to amuse themselves on shore, provided they would not go in parties exceeding ten in number; but under the pretext that the Emperor might be displeased, they afterwards revoked it.

Mr. Roberts mentioned his visit to Vunglam in 1833, remarking, he had been informed that the Emperor had bastinadoed several of the high mandarins there in consequence of the vexatious delays they had caused him at that time, by not immediately forwarding his despatches. To this they very coolly replied that they had forwarded Mr. Roberts's letter the evening it was received, and now had nothing more to do with the matter.

At the moment the presents for the Emperor were mentioned, some samples of sugar and rice were accidentally laid on the table; and, sup-

posing that the presents consisted of those articles, they exclaimed that the Emperor had enough of these; and it was some time before they were made to comprehend differently.

They inquired how long we had been coming from the United States, at what places we had touched, &c. They stated that no one would be allowed to furnish us with beef, &c., before an answer should be received from Hué.

The chief mandarin, as he sat upon his chair with his bare feet drawn up under him, occasionally held his fan between his toes, while his hands were employed either in stroking his beard or wiping his face with a red rag instead of a pocket-handkerchief. Every subject named was recurred to frequently under different forms, as if they were determined to sift the matter to the bottom. During the interview they drank wine, chewed areca-nut, and smoked cigars; but preferred their own to some Havanas which they accepted and afterwards distributed among their boat's crew. Some Chinese tracts were given them, which they appeared to read with interest, after the manner of players in an opera, but did not take them away. They were quite content, and we were heartily glad, when, after an interview of three hours, they took leave.

The Cochin-Chinese are a polite people, and punctilious observers of etiquette. At Vunglam the chief mandarin questioned the propriety of one of his rank and numerous titles, holding intercourse with Mr. Roberts, who came from a country where he understood there were no titles and all men were equal. Mr. Roberts, perceiving that unless this objection were removed, all negotiation would be at an end, replied that the mandarin had been in some measure misinformed. He told him, if his Chinese secretary would take a piece of paper, he would enumerate his own titles and convince him of his error. The secretary selected a half-sheet of paper, but Mr. Roberts requested him to take a whole one, as that even would be scarcely large enough. The American officers present were of course at a loss to imagine how Mr. Roberts would extricate himself from this seeming difficulty. But not so Mr. Roberts. He dictated as follows: Edmund Roberts, Esquire, Special Envoy from the President of the United States to the Emperor of Cochin-China, Citizen of the United States, Citizen of Maine, Citizen of New Hampshire, and continued enumerating himself citizen of each of the twenty-four states; for being citizen of all, he was so of them severally.

Before the sheet was half full the mandarin exclaimed, it was unnecessary to go farther, as his titles already exceeded his own. Had he not been satisfied, Mr. Roberts intended to enumerate as many of the cities, towns, and villages as he could remember, not doubting the success of this *ruse diplomatique.*

On the 20th we had another visit from the mandarins, and a present of fruit. They now told us that eleven days more must elapse before an answer to our letter could be received.

On the 21st the Enterprise arrived in a very sickly condition, which made it more necessary to seek some port where refreshments could be obtained. She had pursued the off-shore passage, and had encountered very light winds and calms, which delayed her arrival.

In the evening we had another visit, to inform us that there was no one at the capital to read the letter sent by Mr. Roberts, (which we were inclined to doubt,) and the Emperor had sent a high officer to Turon to ascertain the object of our visit. This officer had already arrived, and would be very glad to receive Mr. Roberts on shore, which invitation was positively declined on his part, because etiquette required that the Emperor's officer should first wait upon him.

The next morning at eight o'clock, the mandarins again came on board; but Mr. Roberts was so much indisposed that he would not receive them, and they went away evidently much displeased, upon not being permitted even to go below the deck, to gratify their curiosity.

CHAPTER IX.

SKETCHES IN COCHIN-CHINA.

May, 1836.

The general sickness of the crews of both vessels, as well as the dangerous state of Mr. Roberts's health, made it imperative to seek some place promising more speedy relief than was likely to be found among the Cochin-Chinese. But, before sailing, it was desirable to ascertain if possible what might be the disposition of the Government in respect to negotiating a Treaty of friendship and commerce; so that, in case it were favourable, we might return in good condition, provided with interpreters, and, if not, save the time which it might require to return. It will be seen in the sequel that very little hope could be reasonably entertained of negotiating with a people who manifested distrust and suspicion on the most trifling points of intercourse;

who, however ready they be to take unfair advantage, seem unwilling to reciprocate any thing in order to secure their own interest. Whether a Treaty between the United States and Cochin-China at this time is particularly desirable, I have heard questioned by several intelligent and experienced merchants, who urged that the Cochin-Chinese are treacherous, and never would observe the provisions of any Treaty; that they are too distant to enable us to bring their manufactures or produce into our markets with profit; that the existence of a Treaty would not place it more in our power to obtain redress from them for any improper treatment of our citizens, than at present; that the commercial experiments already made have proved their trade to be scarcely worth seeking; and that the only advantage of a Treaty, and that at best problematical, would be in considering it a step towards China itself; but I leave the discussion of this subject to diplomatists, politicians, and placemen, who may discover here a means of at once advancing their own interests and their country's glory.

The English have made several unsuccessful attempts to effect a Treaty with Cochin-China, and attribute their failure to the misrepresentations of the French and Portuguese, in regard

to the British character. But there are other obstacles found in the low estimation at which merchants are held by the Cochin-Chinese, and the frequent civil and foreign wars by which the Government has been distracted for ages. At present they are contending with the Siamese for the territory of Cambodia, which it seems they have long been desirous of annexing to their own.

On the 22d, having received instructions from Mr. Roberts, I went on shore, accompanied by Messrs. William R. Taylor and Jacobs, the Dutch passenger before mentioned, to communicate with the messenger from Hué, sent by the Emperor of Cochin-China, or, as they delight to style it, Anam.

We landed at half-past one o'clock P. M., and, following a tortuous path among wretched huts, tenanted by women and children with dirty clothes and diseased skins, halted at the town-hall before described. At one end of the hall were several clerks writing, without any other desk than the floor itself, and half a dozen individuals were lounging under the veranda with two of the officers who had visited the ship.

We had scarcely taken our seats at the table before one of the two officers demanded to know the cause of the treatment they had received

when on board in the morning. I replied that when the Emperor's messenger, styled the Lakak, should arrive and ask the question, it would be answered.

In a few minutes an individual, as well dressed as any of those we had seen, arrived under a large sunshade of Chinese fashion, with numerous tassels depending from the inside, which was borne by an attendant. He at once proposed to accompany us on board, to seek an interview with Mr. Roberts; but, feeling assured that our object would not be advanced by acceding to this proposal, I stated that it would be useless for him to take so much trouble, because I could inform the Lakak of all he might desire to know; nevertheless, I should be very happy to escort the Lakak himself on board, where Mr. Roberts would be very glad to receive him. He replied, "This morning Mr. Roberts was sick, and refused to see those who went on board, and perhaps the same might occur again?" To this I rejoined, "If the Emperor's messenger will go on board, Mr. Roberts will certainly see him."

Tea was now served in the same rude style as on the occasion of our first visit.

The officer who last arrived inquired who of us three was highest in rank, and was told that

I was. He then asked why Mr. Roberts did not receive him in the morning when on board, and was answered that Mr. Roberts was very unwell, and though he would be pleased to see the Lakak himself, he could not be troubled at this time by any one of inferior rank. This officer now remarked that the Lakak would come in a few minutes to speak with me himself and again asked what was my rank. Owing to the inefficiency of the interpreters, he was given to understand that it was next to that of captain, and Mr. Jacobs gratuitously added, that in the absence of Mr. Roberts it was my duty to transact business for him. He again recurred to the subject of his reception on board, and was again told that, whenever the Lakak should ask it, the matter would be explained.

After a short conversation among themselves it was again proposed that the officer should accompany us on board, and he was informed this had already been refused; and further, if the Lakak would not see us, it was useless to remain longer; remarking, at the same time, that the vessels would sail in the evening, but Mr. Roberts would regret not seeing or hearing directly from the Lakak before his departure. We were a second time assured that the Lakak would meet us in a few minutes.

At this time a messenger was despatched, probably to inform the Emperor's envoy of all that had transpired. During the pause thereby occasioned we had leisure to observe that most of the persons present, of any distinction, wore over white silk under vestments, a frock or shirt of thin black crape, like that called Italian. Their turbans were of black Canton crape, the folds of which all crossed one above the other, about the centre of the forehead.

We were now asked, why one of the companions of the Lakak, who was on board in the morning, had been prevented from going below, which question I declined answering for the present. They then put several questions relative to our respective names and rank, which we wrote down for them.

At the expiration of about twenty minutes after the departure of the messenger, a palanquin, consisting of a net hammock, lined with rugs, slung to a single pole and shaded by an oval roof, arrived bearing a personage of perhaps forty years of age. The palanquin was preceded by a single banner, and followed by fifty men, one half of them armed with long spears, and the rest with muskets. Their uniforms were of scarlet cloth, faced with yellow and blue. The fashion of their jackets was long

waisted; the nether garment was a nondescript sort of swaddling cloth or breeches, reaching to the knee. The muskets were French, and some of their locks were bandaged with blue cloth to shield them from damp; many were without flints. When they had reached the front of the house, within the enclosure, they divided into double files on each side of the walk, leading from the gate, and confronted each other, the spearmen in the rear. While this evolution was being performed, the palanquin halted and an attendant placed a pair of ornamented slippers, with wooden soles, on the feet of the passenger. He at once alighted, and, gracefully saluting us with a nod and wave of the hand, immediately seated himself cross-legged upon the margin of the floor, next to the table. The fashion of his costume was like that of his countrymen, but of a much more costly material. It consisted of a white silk jacket buttoned to the throat, and fitting the arms and person tightly, and loose pantaloons, also of white silk, reaching halfway down the calf. Over these was worn the robe or shirt of sky-blue silk lace, with a vine pattern woven in it, so neatly that it might be mistaken at a short distance for embroidery. His turban, of very fine black crape, was accurately folded; his face and head were small, and his complexion

light yellow; his beard and mustache, if a few long, scattered hairs merit the name, were gray, and his finger-nails were remarkable for length, and for being clean. In short, the air and dress of this individual proclaimed him to be a Cochin-Chinese gentleman of *haut ton*, and of acknowledged rank.

All were silent for a few moments, when I inquired whether he were the Lakak. He answered that he was not, but was equally empowered to hear any communication I might have to make; adding, that the Lakak himself would arrive in a few minutes. He stated, that not being able to understand, or get the letter interpreted, which Mr. Roberts had forwarded to Hué, they had been despatched from the Court to ascertain its import, as well as the object of our visit, and concluded by asking if I were empowered to represent Mr. Roberts on this occasion. I replied in the affirmative, at the same time remarking that we were under the impression there were persons in the capital who understood the French language, and for that reason a translation accompanied the original letter. He declared there was no one who spoke or read that language in the country; and demanded for what purpose I was making lead-pencil notes, whether I intended to leave

them behind or take them with me. I answered they were designed for Mr. Roberts, that he might be correctly informed of all that transpired on this occasion.

At this moment the palanquin of the Lakak was seen approaching, at a short trot rather than march, which would have better comported with his dignity. Two yellow banners, suspended from cross pieces at the end of long staves, down which they hung, first appeared, followed by fifty soldiers in advance of the palanquin, which was like that above described, except that it was more gaudy. It was followed by an attendant, bearing a chunam-box of Japanese lackered ware, another with the wooden-soled slippers of the Lakak, and fifty soldiers. In their arms and appointments, these troops were in all respects like those who were already before us. The want of music detracted very much from the military effect which they were calculated to produce. They formed continuous files, beyond the fence of the enclosure, with those within it, and extended almost to the river upon which the hall fronts, distant between two and three hundred yards.

The Lakak, observing the same ceremony as his companion, alighted and assumed a seat on the left, and in front of me. He was not more

than thirty years of age, his beard was black, and his countenance was much more intelligent than that of his companion. The stature of neither of them exceeded five feet. His costume was only different from that of the other, in being secured by cornelian buttons. So soon as he was seated, he filled his mouth with areca-nut taken from a blue silk reticule embroidered with silver, which was presented by an attendant.

Several individuals, who might be of the rank of sergeant or corporal, gathered under the veranda, bearing long two-handed swords in wooden scabbards, the hilts of which they held uppermost. When any one crossed the open alley between the confronting files of troops, he half inclined his body, very much after the servile manner of the Siamese.

The Lakak remained some minutes silent; and, thinking he might be waiting for me to begin, I expressed a hope that he had experienced no inconvenience from his rapid journey from the capital. He made no reply, but immediately asked why Mr. Roberts would not see those who had been on board in the morning, and the same explanation was offered as before. I stated that I was deputed to communicate with him, and inform him that Mr. Roberts was charged by the President of the United States

with a letter and presents for the Emperor, and invested with full powers to negotiate a commercial Treaty, or to ascertain upon what footing American vessels would be admitted to trade in the ports of Anam or Cochin-China. Mr. Roberts sincerely regretted that his own health, as well as that of the crews of the vessels, required his speedy departure; and he particularly regretted it, because, three years before he was at Vunglam for the same purpose, and, after being delayed there a month, was under the necessity of returning to the United States without receiving a satisfactory answer.* But he hoped to return at some future time provided with interpreters.

The Lakak inquired whether I had the letter for the Emperor, and was told that the letter could only be delivered by Mr. Roberts in person. He then asked to whom Mr. Roberts had given his letter when at Vunglam. I replied, the letter was written in Chinese, and had been delivered to a mandarin, who refused to forward it without giving it in translation an import different from that which it was intended to convey; but we had since learned the Emperor had

* For a detailed account of the visit to Vunglam, the reader is referred to "An Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam and Muscat," in the years 1832-3-4, by EDMUND ROBERTS.

punished the mandarin for his conduct. He now inquired who translated the letter into Chinese, and whether the individual was not on board. Being told that he was not, he exclaimed, "How is it possible to negotiate without interpreters?" I urged that we had anticipated assistance from the French, whom we understood resided at Hué; but being, as it seemed, misinformed on this head, we should be obliged to depart a second time, which Mr. Roberts sincerely regretted.

I asked whether they were disposed to enter into a commercial Treaty with us, remarking that American vessels did not visit Anam for the purpose of trade because they did not know how they might be received, nor what the charges and duties might be upon their cargoes; but it was expected that if a Treaty were made, a commerce which must be advantageous to both countries, would soon follow, as they would bring various kinds of merchandise and dollars to offer in exchange for the products of Cochin-China. He stated, in answer, that both the French and Dutch had been here, about the same season the year before, and had made a similar proposition; but he was ignorant what answer had been given them by the Emperor, adding that he was not authorized to say whether the Emperor was dis-

posed to negotiate or not; nor was he able to say whether American vessels would be admitted to trade; but if they should be, all kinds of merchandise might be bought.

I stated that a ship-of-war would visit them at some future period. Again the letter addressed to the Emperor was demanded, and being refused, the Lakak said if we had nothing further to say he would ask leave to retire.

I repeated our regret that the sickness on board of the vessels and want of interpreters required our departure, and was about to take leave, when the Lakak said we might settle the matter at once. I told him this was out of the question, because the interpreters, who were our medium of communication, did not understand the language sufficiently well to treat on a subject of so much moment. He nevertheless repeated we two might settle the matter now. I then inquired whether the Lakak were vested with powers to negotiate a Treaty, and what was his rank. I was informed in reply that he was the Lakak, resided in the palace with the Emperor, and was superior in rank to all those persons whom Mr. Roberts had seen at Vunglam.

He again repeated, we might settle it well enough, at least verbally, and requested that the letter for the Emperor might be confided to him.

I replied, I would communicate his request to Mr. Roberts.

"Cannot Mr. Roberts come here?"

"It is impossible; etiquette requires that the Lakak should make the first visit to Mr. Roberts." He urged, if Mr. Roberts would come on shore they might talk the matter over. I answered that I would report what he had said, and requested to take leave; for I felt convinced we were spending time to little purpose.

I was fatigued by the slow pace of our intercourse, being obliged first to make my communications to Mr. Jacobs in French, who translated them into Malay; but, as the Cochin-Chinese interpreter spoke a different dialect from himself, and mingled with his Malay many Cochin-Chinese words, there was great difficulty in possessing him of my precise meaning. When he came to translate the observations of the Lakak to Mr. Jacobs, a similar difficulty occurred, so that much time was lost through the inefficiency of the interpreters. Besides, both, in their zeal to be serviceable, were often found answering questions from their own knowledge, without considering the propriety or expediency of such conduct.

Although those under the veranda appeared to be much interested in the interview, the sol-

diers outside seemed to be as weary as myself. They had all gradually squatted down, and were looking heavenwards, grasping their muskets and spears, above their heads, for support

The Lakak asked whether I would not return again the next day to talk the matter over again. I replied, I would communicate what he said to Mr. Roberts, but thought it probable we should sail in the evening. He then remarked, that in the course of three to five days, an answer might be received from the Emperor himself, and offered to procure medicines for the sick, if we required them, for which I expressed our thanks. He said the officers would be permitted in future to roam where they pleased, for the purpose of recreation; but requested they would not shoot animals, as difficulties might arise therefrom. As a further inducement for the ship to remain, which was evidently an object with him, he stated that the water we had on board was poisonous, or very bad from running over the roots of certain plants, and recommended that of the river as excellent. This was a barefaced falsehood, for the Cochin-Chinese themselves used the same water, and carried it on board their vessels. Pointing towards the mountain, he exclaimed, with considerable animation, "Pas bon!" and then to the river, "Bon!" I imme-

diately asked in French whether he spoke the language. He shook his head, blushed to the eyes, and said, "Non, non," in a bad accent, but still sufficiently French to convince me, that, though he might not be able to speak the language fluently, he was quite able to read it.

During the interview, the mandarin who came under the sunshade, often had a word to interpose, but all the others, except the companion of the Lakak, were silent. They beguiled the time as they listened, by rolling up cigars in paper or corn husk after the manner of the Peruvian Spaniards, but they sadly lacked the grace which is peculiar only to fingers nourished by the rich blood of Spain and her colonies. The Lakak himself indulged in a pipe, made of speckled bamboo, the bowl of which would hold a pint, and was connected to a long slender stem. All the while he smoked, which he only did for a few rapid whiffs at a time, an attendant held a taper of oiled paper at the extremity of the stem within the bowl.

We shook hands, and I took leave impressed with the belief, that though a Treaty might be effected, it would be at the expense of much time and patience, to overcome their vacillating and suspicious conduct. The desire to delay the ship probably had its origin in the expected pro-

fits arising from the sale of stock, &c. to us, for when we issued forth from the enclosure, we were met by a crowd of market-women, soliciting us to purchase their truck and poultry.

We reached the ship near six o'clock P. M., and preparations were made to get at once under way.

While we were at Turon, the weather was cool, and to us so recently from the sultry Gulf of Siam, often chilly, though the thermometer ranged from 80° to 83° F. The average height of the barometer was 29.80 inches. The clouds generally floated low, and we had one or two showers, accompanied by thunder and lightning almost every day. The close jungle and trees of the hills give shelter to a variety of monkeys, some of them of singular appearance, as well as many birds and reptiles. Fine fish were daily brought alongside, and sold to us at moderate prices.

Our movements were always closely watched, and when any hunting party strayed far from the shore, they were met by soldiers, who intimated that they were going beyond the prescribed limits.

The poultry was of very excellent quality, and

after the first day procurable in almost any quantity.*

* "The whole of the Cochin-Chinese dominions, since Tunquin has yielded to the arms of the late usurper, fills the space between the 12th degree of north latitude and the tropic of Cancer; but their breadth do not amount to two degrees of longitude. They are bounded to the westward by a long chain of mountains, which border on the other side, on the kingdoms of Laos, Siam, and Cambodia. The sea washes Cochin-China, and Tun-quin to the east; the former has Tsiompa to the southward, and the latter the Cochin-Chinese province of Yunnan to the northward of it. The whole comprehends about 95,000 square miles.—*Staunton's China.*

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

CHAPTER X.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

June, 1836.

On the evening of the 22nd of May, both vessels put to sea, every one on board elated with hope; the numerous sick, of reaching a place where they might recover, and all of finding letters from home at Macao. The monsoon blew pleasantly and the sea was tranquil. On the 24th we were passing Hainan, which has been long in the possession of the Chinese. Numerous fishing-craft were seen in every direction, giving a sure indication of an extensive population on the land. In many places, the fishing-grounds were marked by stout stakes driven into the bottom, leaving one end above the surface of the sea.

At sunset we had a last view of Hainan, which is very high. Heavy dark clouds were gathered over it, forming an immense vault, into which rose numerous mountain peaks, and a fleecy scud floated like a drawn curtain along the top of the arch.

The rays of the setting sun illuminated the whole scene, tinting the clouds with a thousand colours, all as bright as our hopes. The Enterprise followed close under our stern, every sail swelling with the soft breeze of evening, and "Home, sweet home!" rose from our band on deck, as both vessels glided over the smooth, undulating sea, with a fair wind, at the rate of six miles an hour.

The 25th was a delightful day, yet our sick were augmented in number, and the cases wore an unpromising aspect. The 26th was cool, rainy and unpleasant. About midday, in the midst of a heavy shower, we received on board a Chinese pilot, an active man, with a keen eye to profit. He was sheltered from the storm by a broad hat, and a cape of palm leaves, like a roof of thatch, which gave him, as well as his companions, who were protected after the same fashion, a very novel appearance. Their little cock of a boat had just left a pilot on board of an American ship a-head of us, bound to Macao from Batavia. The boat was brought skilfully alongside, and held on till sure of employment, when she was cast off; and dropping astern, quickly set sail by the wind, and stood away for the Enterprise.

So soon as he was on deck, the pilot produced, from a fold of his blue Nankin shirt, several certificates of capability, and honesty, and then demanded forty dollars to guide the ship to the

anchorage, but consented to receive thirty, though, as we afterwards learned, his customary fee was only ten; thus adding another example to the many, that the character a man bears in his pocket is not always a guarantee of his integrity. On concluding the bargain, he insisted on shaking hands with the captain, to ratify its conditions, or, as he expressed it, "so can secure." The next moment he assumed the direction, and, in barbarous English, aided by gesture, began to issue his orders. At half-past three o'clock P. M. we anchored, about two miles from the town of Macao.

Green islands, rising high out of the sea, were seen in every direction. To the left, between two islands, was a harbour, called the Typa, full of vessels, both of European and Chinese construction, and around were many ships riding at anchor. The town of Macao stretched along the shore of a deep cove, sheltered by high land in the rear. A church, dedicated to our Lady, much time-worn, stands on a high rock, to the left, like a small garrison in an enemy's country; and on another eminence, or rather headland, are seen a fortress and wall, marking the limits of the Portuguese possessions.

The day after our arrival, through the kind assistance of Mr. William S. Wetmore, we obtained a large house, in an airy situation, which was quickly converted into an hospital for the accommodation of the sick of both vessels. The 28th of May proved to be clear, and all those

officers and men whose situation was considered dangerous were moved on shore, and made as comfortable as kind attention and ample means would permit.

In the memory of the toils and anxieties necessarily attendant on the circumstances in which we were placed at that time, is mingled a grateful recollection of the active sympathies of the British residents who were ever ready to assist us, and whose untiring hospitality leaves us a debt which we never can, but shall always wish to pay. To Sir George Best Robinson, Bart., his Britannic Majesty's Chief Superintendent of British trade in China, to T. R. Colledge, Esq., Surgeon, the Rev. G. H. Vachell, Chaplain of the establishment, we are particularly obliged.*

On the Sundays, while we remained, divine service was performed at the hospital, by the Rev. Peter Parker, M. D., American missionary, and the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, lately a missionary, but, at present, second interpreter to the British commercial establishment—(with a salary of 800*l.* a year.)

But human effort is not equal to contend against the immutable laws which govern our organization nor to restore it in every instance from a deranged to a normal condition. It has been decreed, from the beginning, that man must die, and at the same time that he shall seek to avoid Death, yet, double

* Since we left Macao, this very expensive establishment, for the superintendence of British trade in China, has been abolished.

as we may, he hunts us down at last. We may give a tear to a departed friend, but let us not murmur against the Divine hand which gathers him from us to a brighter world! Our sympathies are more required by the living, who mourn the loss of son, husband, father, or brother.

On the 3rd of June, Lieutenant Archibald S. Campbell, commanding the United States schooner Enterprise, fell a victim to disease, contracted at Bankok, which he bore with a fortitude becoming an officer. He was an amiable and worthy gentleman, and as such lamented by us all.

In token of respect, a monument was erected over his remains, which were deposited in the British burial-ground, with the sacred and military honours befitting the rank of the deceased. The stone bears, on opposite sides, the following inscriptions:

THE REMAINS
OF
ARCHIBALD S. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
WHO DIED AT MACAO, IN COMMAND OF THE U. S. SCHOONER ENTERPRISE, JUNE 3, 1836.

ERECTED TO THE MEMORY
OF
LIEUTENANT-COMMANDANT
ARCHIBALD S. CAMPBELL,
BY THE OFFICERS
OF THE
U. S. SHIP PEACOCK AND U. S. SCHOONER ENTERPRISE, 1836.

A few days more, and another fellow-voyager was gathered to his fathers. Edmund Roberts, Esq., Special Agent of the United States, died at the residence of Mr. William S. Wetmore, at Macao, on the 12th day of June.

A long exposure in the climates of the East, actively engaged in the service of his country, proved too much for his age and constitution. He had been long out of health, and at Bankok was attacked with the prevailing disease, which he at first neglected, through his desire to lose no time in discharging the duties which had brought him to Siam.

Mr. Roberts had the honour of negotiating and concluding the Treaties which have been given in a former part of this work; and in this, proved himself useful to his country, without reaping a full reward.

Making a good commercial Treaty is not among the least difficult negotiations in diplomatic transactions, and few men combine all the qualifications for such a task. "Besides a general knowledge of the trade and reciprocal interests of the contracting parties, he ought to be acquainted with their several kinds of industry and skill; to discover their wants, to calculate their resources, and to weigh with nicety the state of their finances, and the proportionate interest of their money: nay, farther, he should be able to ascertain the comparative population and strength of each country, together with the price and quality both of

first materials, and also of the labour bestowed upon them. For this purpose he should inquire into the operations of every class of merchants and manufacturers concerned in the trade; should consult their expectations on each of its several branches; and collect their hopes and fears on the effect of each commercial revolution, on the competition of rival nations. A good Treaty of Commerce, independent of the art of negotiation, is pronounced by one who well knew the extent and difficulty of the subject, to be a '*masterpiece of skill.*'"*

In honour of his memory a stone was placed over his remains, bearing on the opposite faces the following inscriptions:

THE REMAINS
OF
EDMUND ROBERTS, ESQ.,
SPECIAL DIPLOMATIC AGENT TO SEVERAL ASIATIC COURTS,
WHO DIED AT MACAO, JUNE 12TH, 1836.

He devised and executed, to their end, under instructions from his Government, Treaties of Amity and Commerce between the United States and the Courts of Muscat and Siam.

* Historical and Political Remarks on the Tariff of the French Treaty, by Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland.

ERECTED

TO THE MEMORY

OF

Edmund Roberts, Esq.,

OF

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE, BY THE AMERICAN MERCHANTS, RESIDENT IN CHINA.

The simple inscriptions of these monuments tell us, that both gentlemen died, far from their families and homes, but not unmourned, nor without the sympathies and respect of those around them.

Their loss cast a shade of melancholy over us all, and produced several changes in the squadron. But owing to a happy circumstance in the constitution of the human mind, of speedily becoming reconciled to whatever is inevitable, the depression had worn away when the vessels again put to sea, with the sick reduced in number, and those who were not yet well, very much benefited by the short stay at Macao. We had been subject too long to the influence of the tropics in the narrow confines of a ship, and had suffered too severely from a succession of epidemics, to recover entirely in the short period of three weeks.

During our sojourn in China we were constantly under the careful surveillance of the Chinese. Whenever a boat landed from the ship, a petty mandarin was at hand to take note of all who came or went. The hospital too was carefully watched,

and we were often asked when we were to depart. The lively interest excited among the Chinese by our presence, attributable rather to their suspicious fears than benevolent sympathies, may be gathered from the following document, addressed to the American Consul.

"To Mr. Snow:

"We beg to inform you we have received a communication from the Hoppo, with orders to make known to you its contents, which are that the cruisers, Sze-kin-lun and Kum-mar be ordered to depart from their anchorage and return to their own country, the moment their sick sailors have recovered their health, as they will not be permitted to loiter where they are, which might give rise to *business*.

"For these reasons we make this known; and with compliments remain,—

Howqua,	Sunshing,
Mowqua,	Mingqua,
Pwankequa,	Footai,
Gowqua,	Assowqua,
Kingqua,	

"Taou-Kwang, 16th year, 4th Moon, and 20th day. (June 3rd, 1836.)

"Wan Hoppo, &c., &c., to the Hong merchants.—A despatch has been received from the Wei-Yuen of Macao, stating that he had been informed by the pilots, Chang-too-Fang and Yang-Yuh-Tae, that on the 13th day of the 4th moon,

16th year of Taou-Kwang, the American cruisers, Kam-mar and Sze-kin-lun, anchored in the offing near the Nine Islands, and on inquiring of the captains of the two vessels the reason for so doing, they were informed, that they were from their own country on a voyage to other ports, but that contrary winds had forced them to anchor where they then were, and that they had no special object in view. In addition to this, they took a correct account of the force of these vessels, which is submitted, and is thus:—

Kum-mar's ship.
- 60 Sailors,
- 10 Great guns,
- 50 Muskets,
- 50 Two-edged swords,
- 500 Catties powder,
- 500 Canon balls.

Sze-kin-lun's ship.
- 190 Sailors,
- 22 Great guns,
- 100 Muskets,
- 100 Two-edged swords,
- 800 Catties powder,
- 800 Cannon balls.

"Strict orders were given to the pilots to keep up a guard over these ships, and control them well, and haste was made to communicate this information.

"Another despatch was soon received, stating, in addition to what had been communicated, relative to the two American cruisers, Kum-mar and Sze-kin-lun, having anchored near the Nine Islands, the pilots had farther made known, in a communication of the 14th day, that three boats from the cruisers, containing fifty-two men, had on that day pulled into the landing at Praya Grande, and on examination they discovered, that of these men, thirty-seven belonged to the cruiser Sze-kin-lun,

and fifteen to the cruiser Kum-mar; moreover, that these men had all become sick on board their ships, being removed on shore to Macao, to dwell in houses, and receive medical treatment and advice, and it was intended to take them again on board, when they had recovered.

"The sailors had the appearance of being sick, and none were strong or robust. We again enjoined watchfulness, and to make known every circumstance."

"While in the act of deliberating upon these news, I received a communication from the Governor, stating that on the 15th day of the 4th moon of the 16th year of Taou-Kwang, he had received a despatch from the Admiral, which made known:—That Sen-keen-ching the Hee of Hang-Shan had received an express from Yu-ching-ting, acting Pa-Tseang, which states, on the 13th day of the present moon, two foreign vessels were seen to come in from sea, and anchor near the Nine Islands, and that the pilot above named, immediately reported that they were American cruisers; that the largest was named Sze-kin-lun, and carried a crew of one hundred and ninety men, that the force was twenty-two great guns, one hundred muskets, one hundred sharp-edged swords, eight hundred catties powder, and eight hundred cannon-balls. That the smallest was named Kum-mar,—her crew consisted of sixty men, her force was ten great guns, fifty muskets, fifty two-edged

swords, five hundred catties powder, and five hundred cannon balls; and on inquiring the reasons of their anchoring where they were, the captains replied, that they were from their own country, bound to other parts; but that contrary winds had forced them to their anchorage, and that they had no special object in view. By further investigation, it was discovered that Sze-kin-lun, the largest vessel, had three masts, that she was about fourteen changs long, and three changs broad. On either side she had bulwarks pierced for twelve guns, but eleven only were mounted. The small ship was about seven changs long, and two changs broad: on either side she had bulwarks also, pierced for five guns, and these were all mounted. Both ships were quiet at anchor.

"These statements are similar, but the dispositions of foreigners are unfathomable, and it became necessary to order out many war-junks to keep a strict watch, as well as to send an officer to order them at once to leave the port, and not to loiter about, and report their different movements. Now these two American cruisers, arriving at so early a period, and anchoring where they are, is duly made known.

"This coming before me (the Admiral) I find on examination that these foreign cruisers, have heretofore arrived about the 6th moon, either as convoy to, or to protect vessels trading with the port; but these two cruisers, thus strangely coming in,

and anchoring merely from contrary winds, leads me to doubt their intentions. Orders were consequently issued to the various war-junks of the right and left, and centre divisions, to keep up a strict guard. I have also ordered instant preparation of the forts and garrison for defence, and also returned an answer to Sen-king-ting, requiring him to keep a constant look-out; on no account to allow boats to communicate with the vessels, for the purposes of buying or selling; likewise to insist upon their setting sail, as consequences might arise from their loitering about.

"Uniting with this intelligence, the report made by the Hee of Hang-Shan, I have replied to all in ordering an active guard to be enforced, all the naval forces of the three divisions to be in readiness, and the forts on the great Tiger-Island, Wang-tong, Sha-keo, and Ta-kes, and other defences of the river, to be put in a state of defence,—to inquire again into the reasons which led these cruisers here, whether their statement is correct, whether they really came from America, or if they have been driven here from other provinces; at the same time upon no account to allow them to remain, to discover also to what other places they are going, and if they have a design to enter the port, let the truth be discovered, and every thing in readiness to act, as circumstances may require. They must not be allowed to enter the port, or the consequences may be severe; and should they

design to go towards the coast, intelligence must precede them, that preparation may be made to keep them off.

"These various statements coming before me, the Hoppo, I find, that as these vessels are not trading vessels, it is inconvenient for them to remain where they are as disturbances might arise yet, as many of their sailors are sick, and have been removed to houses at Macao for medical advice, in addition to giving orders to the Wey-yuen, and pilots at Macao to watch them strictly, and when they have recovered, to insist upon their being carried back to their ships, that they may return to their own country, I also issue this to the Hong merchants, that they may immediately make known to the superintendent of affairs of that country, that so soon as the sick men have recovered, it is necessary that they be taken back to their ships, unfurl their sails and return home. They will not be permitted to delay and loiter about, and the day of their departure must be made known. Hasten, hasten!

A Special Edict.

"Taou-Kwang, 16th year, 4th moon, 20th day. June 3rd, 1836."

The Peacock, after landing the sick, sailed for the anchorage of Kum-sing-moon, opposite to Lin-tin, for the purpose of taking in water and provisions; the Enterprise remained at Macao a few days longer.

CHAPTER XI.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

June, 1836.

In the appearance of Macao from the roads, there is something to remind one of Rio de Janeiro, without there being any thing which is particularly semblable. After having been so long from any Christian settlement, we looked upon it with pleasure, probably arising from the hope of relief which it promised for the sick; and this feeling was rendered more gratifying, by the hospitality and attentions extended to us on all sides. I landed on the afternoon of our arrival, and was agreeably surprised to find the place superior to its appearance from the ship. It is clean, and there is an air of snugness and quiet, attributable to the almost entire absence of commerce, which gives an appearance of the unmolested retirement of those, who fly here at certain seasons from the drudgery of business and the confinement of the close factories of Cantòn.

The houses are built on a curve, following the sweep of the shore, with a broad terrace in front; they are two stories high, in the Portuguese style, with large windows for ventilation, shaded by Venetian shutters. Penetrating into the town from the playa, we find the streets crossing each other irregularly, now rising abruptly and again descending, and roughly paved with broken pebbles.

Macao was founded early in the sixteenth century, on a peninsula of an island, called Heanshang, a short distance from the southern shore of China.

This site was originally granted by the Chinese Emperor, in consequence of important services rendered by the Portuguese at that period. A celebrated Chinese pirate named Tchang-si-lao had become so powerful, as to get possession and hold this island, whence he distrained the commerce of China, and blockaded the port of Cantòn. In their difficulties the mandarins sought and obtained aid from the Portuguese, who were then trading at Sanshan, a town about fifty miles south-west of Macao, giving the gold of Africa, the spices of the Moluccas, and the ivory and gems of Ceylon, in exchange for the silks and teas of the Celestial Empire. They quickly gained a complete victory over the pirate, who it is said committed suicide in consequence, and the Emperor in token of his gratitude presented the peninsula to the Portuguese, which afterwards became of great advantage in the trade which they established with Japan, Cochin-

China and Siam.* But the prosperity of Macao, following the fortunes of the mother country, has fallen, and is now of little importance to the Portuguese.

A wall, built in 1573, separates the Portuguese possessions from the Chinese, leaving them a space of one mile by three, but their jurisdiction is not even here exclusive. There is a Portuguese governor, and a garrison of about two hundred men, kept in good discipline; but the Chinese have also their mandarins, who exercise all the various functions of office. The only privilege the Portuguese possess, is that of governing themselves; while the Chinese population of the town is entirely under the control of the mandarins. The Portuguese pay regularly an annual ground-rent of 500 taëls for the temporary use and profit of Macao.

The population of Macao is estimated at twenty-five thousand, of which twenty thousand are Chinese.

PORTUGUESE POPULATION OF MACAO, IN 1835.

Free white Females.			
From birth to 7 years old,		355	
— 7 to 15 "		345	
— 15 " 30 "		643	
— 30 " 60 "		600	
— 60 and upwards.		139	
			2082

* Establecimientos Ultramarinos. Chinese Repository, vol. iii,

	Brought over		2082
Free white Males.			
From birth to 7 years old,		277	
— 7 to 15 "		322	
— 15 " 30 "		417	
— 30 " 60 "		381	
— 60 and upwards.		41	
			1438
Slaves.			
Males,	448		
Females.	836		
			1284
Total Portuguese pop.	{ males, 1816, females, 2918, }		4804
Marriages, in 1835		48	
Baptisms, —		142	
Deaths, —		127	

The annual mortality, then, is 2.64 per cent., or about one in 38, which is less than that of most of the cities of Europe. In Paris, Strasburg, and Barcelona, it is one in 32; in Rome 1 in 25; in Amsterdam, 1 in 24; and in Vienna, 1 in $22\frac{1}{2}$; while in London, it is 1 in 40.*

A large portion of the baptisms are of illegitimate children. The proportion of males to females is very unequal, and the mass of the population is wretchedly poor, which may account for the absence of chastity which is said to prevail. We were told that mothers unhesitatingly sell their daughters into concubinage, at very low prices, and often degrade them by forcing them to marry Chinese.

* Hawkins' Medical Statistics.

In this view of the population, neither the troops nor the inmates of convents, friars, and nuns, are included. In 1822, the population was 4315, showing an increase of 489 in 13 years.

Macao is exposed, during the summer months, to severe hurricanes, called typhoons, which occur almost every year, and occasionally leave fearful marks of their violence: windows are sometimes blown in, roofs carried away, and the very white-wash and plastering are occasionally swept off from the outside of the walls, leaving the town in a wretchedly piebald condition. While we remained, there occurred several storms, accompanied by rain, lightning and thunder, and in one, two persons were killed in the streets. But with all this, it is remarkably healthy, and provisions of all kinds are abundant and cheap. It is a favourite resort for invalids from all parts of India, who generally find a short residence here of great advantage. Vessels from Batavia usually arrive in a sickly condition, and depart again with their crews very much improved in health, for which they have been heretofore indebted as much to the kind and skilful attention of Dr. T. R. Colledge, as to the salutary influence of the climate.

There are several public buildings and churches in Macao, but I did not find leisure to examine them.

Among the most interesting spots here is the aviary of Mr. Beal, an English merchant, among

which is a bird of Paradise; but we were disappointed to find it was not in feather at this season. It has a keen eye, and is bold and rapid in its motions. It is kept separate, in a large wire cage, into which a servant was tossing insects; the bird never allowed them to fall to the bottom of his habitation, always catching them very skilfully in his strong beak. One regrets that so much beauty and fierceness should be united, as there is in this and many other instances in nature. A splendidly feathered krokatoa, of very large size, swung in a hoop, beneath the shade of a tree in front of the aviary, and a gibbon and a monkey were chained near this spot.

A great variety of flowers, in pots, and shrubs and trees formed the garden, where there is a miniature representation of time-worn, craggy rocks, a species of work for which the Chinese are celebrated. It stood on one side of a little pool of gold and silver fish, with double tails, which were seen shooting through the tiny caves and fissures at its base. The aviary, or great bird-cage, encloses two trees, more than twenty feet high, and has, within it, sundry smaller apartments; and, in one corner, is another specimen of rock-work, with a pool at its base, for the use of individuals of the duck tribe. Within this wire prison a variety of small singing birds carolled as blithely as if their songs were the songs of liberty; gold and silver pheasants strutted about vauntingly

in the pride of beauty, unmindful of their durance; the crown pigeon, as large as a peacock, with a high crest of feathers spread out like a fan, sat high upon a limb, to attract attention; ducks of various kinds chatted amicably in the pool; partridges and quails, at our approach, skulked away beneath the bushes, and the startled moose-deer of Java, fled over the ornamental rock-work, the diminutive size of the animal, being in perfect keeping with the tiny crags and ravines, among which it sought to hide itself. All here lived harmoniously together; but the squalling, quarrelsome disposition of the parrots excluded them from fellowship with the rest. They were kept far enough apart to prevent them from blows; but, nevertheless, like a set of termagants, they contended at a distance, no doubt mutually bestowing very harsh epithets, if we might judge from their tones. Pretty polly is, like certain maidens, only amiable when solitary, or enjoying the undivided attention of those around her.

The cave of Camoens, the celebrated author of tha Lusiad, is situated in the rear of the town, in a garden where the gravel walks shaded by trees, follow the sloping hills in such a manner as apparently to multiply the extent of the grounds. The spot called the cave, which term conveys a very erroneous notion of it, is on a height. It consists of two perpendicular rocks, standing on

the brow of a hill, about two feet apart, and each ten feet high. A heavy rock rests transversely on the top of them, like the lintel of a ponderous door-frame. The cave is two feet wide, by five long, and open at both sides. Here, it is asserted, the poet communed with nature, and poured forth the inspirations of his muse—

> "Here repair
> Many familiar with his well sung woes,
> The pilgrims of his genius."

Upon the transverse rock is erected a light summer-house, accessible by an ascent from the garden. It commands the view of an extensive prospect and beautiful scenery, including, on one side, the inner harbour and the Chinese burial-ground, which is comparable to a common, full of misshapen rocks; on the other, the outer harbour; and between the two, the town of Macao, below, affording a bird's-eye view of its several streets and buildings.

The British burial-ground is in the neighbourhood, and is kept in neat order by the superintendant's chaplain, who, regarding it much in the light of a cabinet of curiosities, never willingly permits a specimen to be deposited without being properly labelled, and marked by cubes of Portland stone, or marble, for the amusement of those who delight to wander among the tombs, not always

with a view, however, to brighten their morals fro t he rottenness of the grave. We may gather some notion how many worldly hopes and aspirations have been concluded here, from the pompous show of grief for the departed, recorded in marble by the living, because more tenacious than the natural memory of ordinary men.

To glance back from the last resting-place, to the living world;—the Portuguese in Macao have preserved their national fondness for music and society. The piano and guitar are heard from the houses in almost every street at night, and on one occasion, I met a party, in masks, bound upon a serenade. It consisted of a dozen individuals, grotesquely dressed, the females, as I was told, being represented by young members of the other sex, marching in procession accompanied by music, and the occasional discharge of fire-works, and followed by a crowd of admiring rabble. Another evidence of fondness of amusement, I saw in a company of amateurs who enacted plays and parts of operas, with much credit to themselves.

The females, seen on their way to and from church, have strongly the appearance of being grand-mammas, and, to judge alone from their costume, so far is it in the rear of fashion that one might imagine no innovation had been made for a hundred years. They wear loose figured calico gowns and mantos or scarfs over their heads, and

are usually followed by a slave bearing an umbrella, and a rug whereupon to kneel before the shrine at which they worship.

Like most Spanish and Portuguese towns, Macao has a place of common and general resort, in the "praya," facing the bay. In the evening ladies are seen here, in sedan-chairs, taking the sea air, and gentlemen promenading for the sake of exercise. Wheel-carriages are unknown, and the space for riding on horseback is very limited.

There is a very agreeable European society shut up in Macao, almost from the world. The ladies are left here often for months together, while their lords are toiling for cash in the factories and close atmosphere of Canton. This is usually the case in the season of trade, from June till March or April.

On landing at Macao for the first time, from a Christian country, the traveller is struck with the sight of many novelties Chinese servants in white cotton leggings, secured at the knee with a blue silk garter, wooden-soled shoes, full white breeches, white frock falling below the hips and buttoned over on the left breast; (more remarkable, however, for their shaven front and long tail of hair almost sweeping the ground, and the imperturbable quiet and self-possession written on their countenance,) are seen, here and there sauntering before a gentleman's door. Now and then you

pass a pair of brawny-limbed coolies, staggering under the weight of a box or bale suspended from a bamboo between them, clothed in blue shirts, short trousers and straw or glazed flats, tied under the chin to shelter them either from sun or rain. Again, you may encounter an individual sauntering along, now and then casting a glance at the houses, and startling you with a whur, made by separating with the thumb the legs of a pair of coarse tweezers, and causing them to vibrate violently as he swings his hand. This is the barber, announcing his presence, and readiness to perform the depilatory operation *à la Chinoise*, for any who may need this service.

Before leaving Macao I visited a Chinese school taught by the (lately) missionary, the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff and his wife. There were seventeen pupils reciting their lessons in turn, conveying to my unaccustomed ear, a sound resembling that of a simmering tea-kettle. I was interested in a child totally blind, that was telling the alphabet to Mrs. G., who seems to be devoted to her pupils. It may be proper to state, that though Mr. Gutzlaff, strictly speaking, is no longer a missionary, he devotes all his leisure to promote the cause by active labours.

He introduced to me three Japanese youths who had been wrecked *on the Pacific Coast of America*, and afterwards found their way to China,

on their route to Japan. From them he had gained a colloquial facility in their language, which he hopes some day to turn to account in visiting that strange country.*

* A mission ship has lately sailed from Macao for Japan, with these persons on board.

CHAPTER XII.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

June, 1836.

On the 5th of June, I determined to accompany a gentlemen in a "fast-boat," to Kum-sing-moon, where the Peacock was lying at anchor, to join there a party going to Canton. At the place of embarkation, we were interrupted by a surly young mandarin who, according to usage demanded a dollar of each of us previously to going afloat; a tax levied on all foreigners who have not their own, or as the Chinese express it, 'Europe boat,' to carry them off. The mandarin treated us with an air of contemptuous condescension, and examined our dollars very carefully, first rejecting one and then another, because he found some point or figure more worn than pleased his fancy. At last we cut short his examination, by leaving him the sum in hand, putting the rest into our pockets.

While we were thus engaged, the tindal or commander of the 'fast-boat,' engaged by our com-

pradòr, Hardfacey, had called for a sampan, a short, flat boat with a bamboo cover. Sampans here are navigated exclusively by women, and are used as passage-boats from the shore to ships in the roads. Their shape is not unlike the half of a water-melon. Each one is usually managed by three Tartar women, who are short, stout, ugly viragos, and live in their boat, which they keep remarkably clean; the wood being daily scoured with sand, wears the cleanly appearance of a well-kept milk-pail. An oar, made of two pieces, one end lapping the other in the centre, resting at this point upon the round head of an iron pin in the stern, extends into the water: one end is constantly beneath its surface, while the other is connected by a long rattan to the bottom of the boat. The chief of the women stands on one side of the oar, and pushes it backwards and forwards, or rather from side to side; which, from the mode of the contrivance, causes the oar-blade to turn so as to offer itself diagonally to the water, and produce the effects of a skull. A second oar is pulled by a woman, sitting on a low stool near the bow. Their costume consists of a pair of broad pantaloons, of a black stuff which turns water, worn under a long blue Nankin frock or jacket, fitting closely round the neck, and a handkerchief, folded diagonally, is worn over the head, and tied under the chin. The passengers are accommodated with stools in the centre of the boat.

The call for a sampan brought half a dozen to the beach, from their place of anchorage, at a short distance ; all, eager for employment, plying their skill to reach the shore first, and at the same time calling out, " my boat, good boat ; me know you, sir." Some of these water-nymphs had very white teeth, which they displayed, wreathed in smiles, in order to obtain our custom. One was at last selected, and we were soon alongside of the " fast-boat," our women shouting triumph over their competitors, who retorted most lustily, until we were beyond ear-shot; but fortunately for us, perhaps, in a language we did not comprehend.

One might imagine that the fast-boat obtained its name from its qualities of swiftness. This one was a rude vessel of ten or eleven tons, with a single mast of bamboo, on which a coarse mat sail was hoisted. The interior was comfortless, in the last degree, offering no other accommodation than some rush mats spread in the hold, to which we were invited to descend. No sooner was she under way, and her side offered to a stiff breeze, than she began to careen fearfully, and dance rapidly over the waves. A box of large pebbles stood in the stern, by way of moveable ballast, or arms and ammunition to fight their way, in the event of being opposed.

On reaching the roads, we were rejoiced to find the Enterprise just about to sail for Kum-sing-moon, and got quickly on board without regretting

the exchange of quarters. In a few minutes she was put before the wind, and, passing several vessels in the track, anchored close to the Peacock, about four o'clock P.M.

Kum-sing-moon is the anchorage of vessels trading to Cantòn, during the S. W. monsoon, the season of typhoons, and is considered more safe than that at Lintin, which is at no great distance. Either at one or at the other, one or two vessels remain throughout the year, used as depots for the opium of India, whence it is smuggled into China, in very large amounts, affording those who engage in the trade ample profits; and, if they be not too frequently unsuccessful in their smuggling expeditions, large fortunes are speedily acquired. The use, or rather the intemperate abuse, of opium among the Chinese is not less baneful in its effects, than are those of alcoholic spirits among Christians. Strong edicts are frequently issued by the Emperor against its introduction, and occasionally the boats are caught and the opium confiscated. The inferior officers of the customs, employed to prevent this trade, find their interest in conniving at it, and now and then only, assuming a virtue they have not, make a seizure to keep up an appearance of vigilant honesty.

The Indian opium, from Patna, Benares, and Malwah, find its way from the deposite ships to all parts of China. Its price varies, according to the quality, from 500 to 800 dollars the chest, of

133⅓ lbs., the old being considered most profitable. The quantity consumed, and its estimated value for nine years, is stated in the following table, from which we may conjecture the number of opium-eaters in the Celestial Empire:

Estimate of the Quantity and Value of Indian Opium, consumed in China for nine years.

		Chests.	Value in Dollars.
Season.	1827-28	11,111	10,425,075
—	1828-29	11,409	12,533,105
—	1829-30	15,643	12,057,157
—	1830-31	20,108	12,904,263
—	1831-32	15,823	11,501,584
—	1832-33	21,279	15,352,429
—	1833-34	20,213⅓	11,006,605
—	1834-35	21,653	11,758,779
—	1835-36	26,200	17,106,903

About six o'clock P M. our party got on board of a pilot-boat schooner, comfortably arranged for passengers, being one of several, which form a packet line between Macao and Cantòn. One leaves each place daily, according to the newspaper, but there is no regularity in their departure. They are all manned by Hindoos or Bombaymen, who conduct their vessels with skill and propriety.

We got under way during a heavy rain, and it speedily became dark, leaving us to pass the time in the cabin, either in conversation or sleep. At seven o'clock the next morning we anchored; the tide was against us, and it had fallen calm. We were in sight of the Boca-Tigris, or Bogue, which

the Chinese consider to be the mouth of Pearl River, on the north bank of which is seated the commercial capital of the Celestial Empire. The Bogue is defended by two forts, built without those precautions which are indicative of military science and skill. It is the site of most of the wars waged between foreign nations and the Chinese.

The continued calm did not accord with our impatience to reach Cantòn. For several hours we had nothing better to do than occupy ourselves looking at the Bogue and the forts. The scenery is mountainous and varied.

Several sampans approached, sculling and rowing. Their navigators were talking loudly, and when not bickering among themselves, they levelled their abuse at us, the tone of which was alone comprehensible. The youngest of the crew was always in the bows; and, when there were children on board, they held out their hands, crying, "Cumshaw—present."

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the tide being favourable, we got under way with a very light breeze, and slowly passed the Bogue, where the Chinese gunnery astonished the Imogen and Andromache. By ten o'clock, we had reached the anchorage at Whampoa, forty *le* or twelve miles from Cantòn, where we were again obliged to anchor.

The flood-tide at two o'clock the next morning, brought with it a light wind, and we again made

sail. Daylight came gradually on, and discovered, on our right, low meadow-land, verdant with rice-plants, and fringed to the water's edge with shrubbery. In the back-ground, where not concealed by their vapoury clouds floating between us and their summits, the mountains rose in broken and undulating outline against the sky. The stream was pressed by numerous sampans, and cargo or chop boats of large size, moving in different directions. As the sun rose the scene grew more animated, and his increasing beams seemed to infuse new life into those labouring at the oar. Two chop boats of not less than a hundred tons, propelled by three large sculls over the stern, each managed by one or two men, were side by side, trying their speed. They glided swiftly along, and the rowers were in high spirits; for the sake of coolness, they wore nothing but a pair of loose short drawers. One of them rushed across the deck of his vessel, always tossing a leg in the air behind him, as he gave a sudden and strong impulse to his oar in pushing it from him, before applying his force in the opposite direction. The race was pretty equal for some time, until a more than ordinary energetic push broke my man's oar: there was a boisterous laugh, and the other boat glided ahead.

We were now in sight of two tall towers, divided into several stories by corridors or roofs, turning up in points. They are white, but in many places have patches of green vegetation upon them, im-

parting the appearance of considerable age. They are usually termed pagodas by foreigners, though they are not resorted to as places of worship, but appear to have been originally designed for watch-towers. The one, called *Hwa-ta*, was built more than thirteen hundred years ago; it has nine stories, is octagonal, and 170 feet in height. The other called, *Kwang-ta*, was built in the time of the Tang dynasty, which closed, A.D. 906. It is broad at the base and slender towards the top. Its height is 160 feet. Anciently it was surmounted by "a golden cock, which turned every way with the wind;" but that was broken down and carried off to the capital, and its place afterwards supplied by a wooden one, which long since disappeared.

We advanced slowly. Every step of our progress was marked by increasing numbers of boats, plying in different directions. Large junks, either riding at anchor or sculling with the tide, became more frequent. As we drew nearer to the city, vessels with oval or arched decks, curiously carved, were anchored along the shores. These are the permanent abodes of many people, and some of them are employed as salt stores. We had passed a fort, called Howqua's, and were not far from another, named Dutch Folly. The flags flying in front of the several factories were now in sight, but the tide running strongly against us, we got into one of the many sampans, that had been some time hovering about, soliciting our

custom. We moved along very comfortably, and soon entered a narrow passage, between a line of junks, moored head and stern, close to the shore, and another line at anchor at no great distance. This seemed a perfect labyrinth of sampans, moving and turning in every direction, and the confusion was not a little increased in our minds by the hum of voices and rushing of the tide. Yet on we moved, turning now to the right, and now to the left, to avoid sampans passing within a few inches of us, keeping me in constant apprehension that we should come in contact and capsize; but the admirable skill of our river-nymphs saved us from all rencounters.

We saw on our way, in the galleries of the junks, or in light flat boats beautifully fitted and ornamented, Chinese females gaily dressed, seated in the cabins or apartments, which are tastefully arranged. Some of them we passed very closely and attracted their attention. We observed that the hair was prettily disposed on the back part of the head, being formed in an oval braid round a centre knot, through which was passed a broad skewer of metal—gold, silver, or brass—to secure the whole. It was nicely oiled, shining, black, and comparable to a duck's back. The hair was combed backwards from the forehead, and, in some instances, a small flower was so placed as to give a pleasing finish to the head-dress. It was very perceptible, that they were indebted to the toilet for the roses of their cheeks; and, in some, the

centre of the lower lip was coloured with a bright pink. In spite of their exquisitely long finger nails and ample dresses, these *demoiselles* possess nothing to attract one from the countries of the West.

After a pull of about two miles through an indescribable scene—Reader, imagine 84,000 boats, either at rest, or moving in all directions, inhabited by men, women, and children, the infants having gourds tied to their backs to buoy them in event of falling overboard, making up a floating population of not less than one hundred and fifty thousand; imagine this, and you will then have a very faint idea of Pearl River, where it passes Canton. We landed, in the midst of a heavy shower, in front of the factories, and soon entered the dwellings of our respective friends. The area before the factories, was occupied in part by several huge umbrellas, used as tents to shelter fruit, &c., offered for sale, under some of which were huddled together, several more than half-naked Chinamen, and all dripping with rain, while others were hurrying in opposite directions in search of shelter.

CHAPTER XIII.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

April, 1836.

CANTON, or, as it is written on the native maps, Kwang-tung Sang-ching, that is, "the capital of the province of Kwang-tung," is built on the northern bank of the Choo-keang or Pearl River, sixty miles inland from the "great sea," and about eighty from Macao. The foreign factories, already alluded to, are situated a short distance from the south-west corner of the city walls, in 23° 7′ 11″ north latitude, and in 113° 14′ 30″ east longitude from Greenwich.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of the city is rich and diversified, but does not present any thing bold or grand. The country to the north, and north-east, is hilly and mountainous. A wide prospect opens in every other direction. The numerous rivers and canals abound with fish, and are covered with an almost endless variety of boats, which are continually passing to and from the

neighbouring towns and villages. Southward from the city, as far as the eye can see, the waters cover a considerable portion, perhaps one-third of the whole surface. Rice-fields and gardens occupy the low lands, with only here and there a few little hills and small groves of trees, rising up to diversify the otherwise unbroken landscape. The city itself, including the suburbs, is not of very great extent; and though very populous, derives its chief importance from its extensive domestic and foreign trade.

The city of Cantòn is among the oldest in this part of the empire. It is not easy, perhaps not possible, to determine its original site and name, or to ascertain at what period it was first built, though historians date its foundation about 2000 years ago.

That part of the city which is within the walls, is built nearly in the form of a square, and is divided by a wall running east and west, into what are termed the old and new city. The streets are numerous and very crooked, varying in breadth from two to sixteen feet; but are generally six or eight feet wide, and every where flagged with large stones, chiefly granite. The entire circuit of the walls, which are built of sandstone and bricks, varying in height from twenty-five to forty feet, and in thickness, from twenty to twenty-five, is estimated at about six miles. The walls are pierced by sixteen small gates, which foreigners are never per-

mitted to pass, except in case of fire, when their aid is eagerly sought. The suburbs, taken collectively, are scarcely less populous or less extensive, than the city itself, and in their general features, are alike.

The foreign factories, or buildings occupied by foreign factors or merchants, cover a plot of ground extending about two hundred yards from east to west, fronting the river, and a hundred and thirty yards north and south. They are either of granite or brick, two stories high, and present a substantial front, which has a veranda, supported by pillars, the spaces between which are closed by Venetian shutters. They form, with the American and several foreign flags in front of them, a striking contrast with the scene around. They face upon an open area, equal to their length, and perhaps fifty yards wide, which is crossed in front of the buildings, by a broad pavement, stated to be the limits allotted to foreigners for taking exercise, though they may be seen pulling on the river in their own boats, occasionally visiting Honan, and the Fa-ti gardens, besides perambulating the streets of the suburbs, and the grounds about the walls of the city.

The factories are the property of the Hong merchants, a company of twelve Chinese, through whose medium all intercourse between foreign residents and the Chinese Government must take place. The factories are thirteen in number, and

are styled the "Thirteen Factories:" besides, each has a name intended to be indicative of good fortune. The first, on the east, is the factory of "Justice and Peace," but known to foreigners as the "Creek Factory." The second, or Dutch, is the "Factory of collected Justice;" the third, the British, or "Factory that ensures Tranquillity." This is separated from the fourth, or "The great affluent Factory," by a narrow street; the fifth, is the "Old English Factory;" the sixth, the "Swedish Factory;" the seventh, the "Imperial Factory;" the eighth, the "Precious and prosperous Factory;" the ninth, the American, or the "Factory of wide Fountains." China Street separates this from the tenth, which is occupied by a Hong merchant, Mingqua. The eleventh, is the French; the twelfth the Spanish, and the thirteenth, separated from the last by New China Street, is the Danish.

Each of these factories, or, as they are commonly called in Cantòn, Hongs, is divided into five or more houses, by narrow courts. A broad arched way leads through the middle of each Hong, from front to rear, by which the several houses or factories are accessible.

On landing, I entered the "Imperial Hong," and was met at the entrance of the thoroughfare by a number of Chinese servants, in clean white garments, wooden-soled shoes, and hair nicely braided and almost sweeping the ground. An old

man, with a pencil in his hand, quickly appeared from an office on the left, and gave some directions to those around who were accustomed to obey, and we were led up stairs to receive the welcome of an old acquaintance. A servant was appointed for each of us, and in a few minutes we were comfortably disposed of for so long as we might remain in "the provincial city of the flowery land," as the Chinese in their grandiloquence delight to distinguish it.

Though "ladies, great guns, and other military weapons" are not permitted to be brought to Cantòn by foreigners, they manage to obtain all the luxuries of the table, and a large share of domestic comfort. The system of the establishment is similar to that of India, except that the steward, there called a dubash, is here a compradòr, and the host is entirely dependent upon him for every thing connected with the household. The compradòr has a special licence for his vocation; he engages the servants, supplies the table, and controls every thing connected with housekeeping. He is a banker moreover, and, on the order of his employer, pays for all purchases, so that one may live in Cantòn for years, and never have occasion to defile his fingers with cash. To us visiters this was very convenient; for, instead of carrying a weight of money in our pockets, for the purchase of trifles, we made a deposit with the worthy com-

pradòr, and drew occasional drafts on him, which, with the shopmen, were as current as cash.

The foreign society is limited; the number of residents, including clerks, does not probably exceed one hundred and fifty. Social visiting and dining are frequent, but we are not certain that the society is bound more closely by the bonds of viands and wine. The "Union Club" is established for the purpose of bringing together foreigners more frequently, where they efface any unpleasant feelings which may be excited in the rivalry of business. The older residents generally abstain from wine, on account of its unfavourable effects upon the health; and, in lieu thereof, drink tea, which appears on the table in such guise that the eye uninitiated may readily mistake it. Wine is brought in quantities to Cantòn, where the climate operates very much to its improvement. Besides other good things of the table, we see here the famous China capon and delicious broad-tail mutton, from the Cape of Good Hope; and almost any tea-drinking old lady, by a visit to Cantòn, would be rendered miserable for the rest of her life; the flavour and bouquet of the China herb loses so much in crossing the broad seas.

Our first intercourse with the children of the "flowery land" was held with a tailor and a shoemaker. They speedily answered in person to our summons. The tailor came first: he was a small round-shouldered man, in white costume, bearing

a bundle under his arm, tied in a handkerchief. He bowed as he entered, or rather quickly ducked his head, saying, "Chin, chin,"—your most obedient.

"Are you a tailor?"

"Yes, sir; you have got make some pigeon with me? Me glad see you—me make all true pigeon. What thing you suppose you wantshey?"

"Grass-cloth jackets and pongee pantaloons."

"Have got—have got—suppose you wantshey lookey, muster;" at the same time untying his bundle, and producing a variety of patterns of grass-cloth and silk pongee. He displayed the first, saying, "This grass-cloth good thing,—number one, first chop—wantshey?"

"How much for a dozen jackets?"

"One dozen piece jacket," looking thoughtfully for a moment, and then adding, "one dollar one make twelve dollar—can do?"

"How soon will they be finished?"

"When he wantshey?"

"Very soon."

"Suppose next day to-morrow?"

"Yes!"

"Can do—can do—me make measure," which he did in the usual way, and took an old jacket as a guide by which to fashion the new ones. This done, he went on;—"No wantshey pantaloon pongee,"—at the same time displaying the article—"one good thing—number one good thing, first

chop—can secure—me no speaky two tongue." In this way he despatched business, taking each article separately, and deciding all in relation to it before proceeding to inquire whether other garments were wanting.

The above is a specimen of Anglo-Chinese, as it is spoken and understood, not only by the Chinese shopmen and merchants, but by the foreign residents holding intercourse with them. This strange mongrel is regularly taught in the Chinese elementary schools, as a branch of education, and it would be difficult perhaps to exchange ideas with them in any other.

The shoemaker next appeared, and began with the salutation, "Chin, chin," and was soon despatched. In both instances, these men were prompt, and gave satisfaction in their respective contracts. Indeed, such is the general character of this class of people; but all hold it a point of honour to get as much in a bargain as possible, but, when that is made, the terms are rigidly adhered to in most instances.

The imitativeness of the Chinese is proverbial, and it is stated, that some years since, tailors would imitate an old garment even to the patches and darns; but such instances are at present rare. Something of the kind occurred to me. I directed an ivory-dealer to have two seals cut, and told him in what manner I wished them executed. When these were finished, I ordered a third, and with

a pencil, carelessly wrote the letters to be engraved thereon, directing that it should be executed like the others.

"Very well—he wantshey all same, same?"

"Yes."

When presented, it was a fac simile of my careless writing, and when I explained the mistake, he defended himself, saying, that I had ordered it to be "all the same, same."

After dinner, we adjourned to the veranda, from which we had a bird's eye view in front. The shower had passed, and several groups of Chinese were standing and chatting together. One group held birds, in cages, which they bring out every day for the sake of an airing. Another party were squatted in a circle, seemingly in idle conversation, where they remained for half an hour, and then went their respective ways

Here and there was seen a Chinaman, in blue, seated on a pyramidal red stool with several drawers below the top, and near to him, a small bucket with a long staff fixed to one side of it. These are barbers; a class of artists, which numbers in Canton no less than 7300, and, as in other countries, it is asserted their success in business depends upon their talent for talk and gossip. At this hour few were employed; but in the early part of the day, they are all busy shaving the heads and dressing the long cues of their countrymen. A Chinaman will defend this appendage till the

last, its loss being a disgrace which cannot be readily washed away. If he lose it when absent from the empire, he never returns until it has acquired a legitimate length. I have watched the barbers at midday when the sun was shining in full blaze, and observed them follow the long shade of the flag-staff in front of the factory, as the advance of the sun caused the shadow to change its position, thus securing the advantages of an airing. Towards sunset, the chest of drawers and bucket were secured to a shoulder stick, and they moved off shop and all.

Along the pavement foreign clerks were promenading up and down for the sake of exercise; while here and there, a pair of Parsees, the finest-looking people in the East, were sauntering to and fro. The river was alive with boats, and one or two trim-built wherries were seen gliding in the throng, pulled by English gentlemen, for the sake of health.

The morning after our arrival, we set out to see whatever was to be seen of the "flowery land." We were met at the door by a Chinaman, with a basket of ivory toys, who, with a smiling face, solicited our patronage; but finding his articles did not please us, as a last test of our taste, he inquired, "No wantshey big mandarin sodger knife," at the same time exhibiting a short sword, in a scabbard, ornamented and covered with tortoise-shell.

The barbers were busy all over the area, and people were hurrying in every direction in pursuit of trade. Some with umbrellas, and others content to shelter the head from the sun, by holding up a fan. Along the wall, near China-street, a number of old women, miserably clad, their little feet bandaged and protruded into notice, sat busily sewing with a bag of rags beside them. The corner of the street was covered with red placards, containing edicts in Chinese characters, reminding one of the vicinity of a theatre at home. At this spot, too, sat several people with coops and cages, which we found, on examination, to contain cats and dogs fatted for the table, which were in their respective ways testifying their desire to be enlarged from their prison. The purchasers were always particular to look closely at puss's eyes, the state of which is considered to be the criterion of the healthful condition of the animal. Eat cats and dogs! Whether delicious or not, I am not prepared to say; but I know of no good reason against eating them. Education and habit have decided the matter for most of us. If we be disgusted with these as articles of diet, I am sure few of us will turn from the fatted capon, the duck, the goose, or the turkey, the dressing of which the Chinese cooks understand as well as any people living. Indeed, if the state of the art of cookery in a nation were to be received as a criterion of its civilization, I should vote the Chinese the most civilized people on earth.

Birds'-nest soups and jellies, bichos do mar, sharks' fins, and sea-weed, are made palatable; fruits and vegetables of all sorts are converted into sweet-meats of all kinds; among which ginger, oranges and bamboo are not the least sapid.

Before entering China-street, several shopmen had put their respective cards into our hands, assuring us, in a confidential tone, "You come my house, you find all true pigeon; me no speakey two tongue." China-street, the widest in the suburbs, is twelve feet wide, well paved, and, perhaps, three hundred feet long. It is lined on each side by narrow stores, two stories high, having verandas in front, and all painted green and black. In these shops are chiefly kept samples of goods, where you may purchase a yard or a cargo at nearly the same rate. They are very damp, at least at this season; the shelves upon which the silks, &c., are placed, are made in gratings, and their front is usually closed by wooden shutters. Two or three times a week charcoal fires are set beneath, and the heated air permeates the goods, and corrects the dampness of the atmosphere. Neat lackered signs hang at the doors, done in simple English, as "Washing, Dealer in Silks," &c.

On entering one of these shops, you are welcomed with "Chin, chin," and a door which separates the shop from a small vestibule in front, is closed to shut out intruders, and prevent the gathering of a curious crowd in the street. Be-

sides, beggars are wont to take this opportunity to enter, and it is against the custom to send them away empty-handed; nor can they be persuaded to move without some trifle, but remain, stunning the ears by striking together two pieces of bamboo, until bribed to depart.

A counter six feet long and one and a half wide, covered with oil-cloth, stands a little in front of the shelves. Before it is a table, on each side of which are seats for the purchasers, that they may examine the goods at ease. Beneath the table is an altar of the Chinese *penates*, consisting of a sheet of red paper inscribed with Chinese characters, before which continually burns a red wax taper or a small lamp.

Almost everything is sold by weight, whether silk or poultry, vegetables or silver, by the following table:

10 Cash *(le)*,	1 Candareen	=	5.7984 grs. Troy.
10 Candareens *(fun)*,	1 Mace,	=	57.984 grs. Troy.
10 Mace *(tseen)*,	1 Tael,	=	579.084 grs. Troy.
10 Tael *(leang)*,	1 Catty	=	1⅓ lb. avoirdu.
100 Catties, . .	1 Pecul,	=	133⅓ lbs. "

It is to be observed that the words Cash, Candareens, Mace, Tael, Catty, and Pecul, are not Chinese words, and are never used by the Chinese among themselves; and why foreigners have employed them instead of the legitimate terms, it is difficult to conjecture.* The above,

* Chinese Repository.

with slight modifications, are the standard weights, both of money and of commerce. Though the shopmen tell the prices in dollars, they keep their accounts decimally according to the following table:

10 Cash	1 Candareen,
10 Candareen	1 Mace,
10 Mace	1 Tael, = 1,38 dol.

On every counter is seen an instrument, called a "swan-pan," or *counting board,* with which the Chinese perform calculations in numbers with surprising facility. This abacus, or arithmetical board, consists of an oblong frame of wood, about a foot long, having a bar running lengthwise, about two-thirds its width from one side. Through this bar, at right angles, are inserted a number of parallel wires, having moveable balls on them, five on one side of the bar and two on the other. The principle on which computation is made is this; that any ball in the larger compartment, being placed against the bar and called unity, decreases or increases by tenths, hundredths, &c.; and the corresponding balls in the smaller division, by fifths, fiftieths, &c. If one in the smaller compartment is placed against the middle bar, the opposite unit or integer, which may be any one of the digits, is multiplied by five.*

This method is of Tartar origin, and was used in Russia until Ferguson, a Scotch mathematician, introduced arithmetic. Arabic numerals found

* Establecimientos Ultramarinos, tom. iv. Madrid, 1788.

their way into Europe in the ninth century, through the Spaniards, who were the first to adopt them. The Russian empire received the Arabic method of counting a thousand years afterwards; and even to this day, the ancient method of counting is met with among its people. Such is the fate of the arts, they slowly find their way round the world.

When several articles are purchased by an individual from one shopman, he customarily makes the purchaser a present, which goes under the name of "cumshaw," and is equivalent to the per centage deducted in some cases with us for cash. The Chinese shopmen are very adroit in putting up packages, and if they be opened by foreigners, it is rarely they can be again put into the same neat form.

The shops are nearly all alike, both in China and in New China Streets. We find in them dealers in ivory, in silk, silver and gold, lacquered ware, &c.; shops for birds and birdcages, shells, fireworks, and insects, which are not worthy separate description.

Both China Streets are crowded during the early part of the day, and we see here the stalls of the medical fraternity. They are usually seated in the midst of little baskets of dry herbs, which they are always compounding in a rude mortar, when not engaged with the complainings of a patient. Their prescriptions seem to be as much

esteemed for quantity as for quality, some of the doses resembling more a mash for a horse than a potion for a man.

A narrow street crosses nearly at right angles the heads of China Streets, where the concourse is always very great. Here we see men with flat baskets of fish hung at each end of a shoulder-staff; sedan-chairs, which foreigners are not allowed to use; and some with umbrellas, all moving in opposite directions, and yet avoiding collision. Like the other two, this street is filled by various small shops. At one end of it the cabinet-makers are seen collected together, busily employed, fashioning ebony, rose and camphor woods, into desks, chairs, trunks, &c., which have found their way all over the world.

Like the mechanics in other parts of the East, we observe these making almost as much use of their feet and toes as of their hands. Even a small writing desk goes through a process in the manufacture which might be termed building, for their work-shops have nothing like a bench or table for tools, or any contrivances for abridging labour. The mechanics are usually seated flat upon the floor with their task between their legs, and the very few tools they use scattered on either side of them within reach.

There is another street, inhabited chiefly by tinkers, who produce many household utensils, from a metallic compound, closely resembling

silver, known in commerce as tutenague, or China spelter. It is an alloy of iron, copper, and zinc; but in what proportions is a secret not yet discovered by Europeans. "It is harder than zinc, though less so than iron, sonorous, compact, and has some malleability. The fresh fracture is brilliant, but soon tarnishes. Till superseded by spelter, from Silesia, it was exported in large quantities to India; but on account of its high price, is now seldom or never shipped; spelter being, on the contrary, imported to compete with it in China."

We must pass by many things which we might remark, but our stay was too limited to enable us to see all which is accessible to foreigners; and we are happy that we can refer all who may be interested to know more of Cantòn, to so valuable a work as the Chinese Repository.

CHAPTER XIV.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

June, 1836.

One afternoon we set off to cross the river to visit the Budhist temples at Honan, but were unable to procure a boat, an edict having been issued the day before prohibiting foreigners from visiting it, and the boat-people from hiring their boats to them. So severe are the inflictions of Chinese laws generally, that no ordinary bribe will induce their infraction by Chinese citizens. Nothing can be more effectual than their mode of operation. Several instances might be adduced; but the following extract in relation to Lord Napier, is sufficiently illustrative of the style of these decrees or proclamations, and its success proves how strictly it was observed.

"From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy or sell to the English nation, any goods or things whatever, large or small; and all manner

of workmen, boatmen, &c., are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians, (foreigners?) Should there be any clandestinely having dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be punished according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarian eye Lord Napier, has cut himself off from the Celestial Empire. It is not all that we, the governor and lieutenant-governor, have liked to do.

"The barbarian merchants of all other nations are still permitted to trade as usual. They need have no suspicion or anxiety. Let all with trembling awe obey. Oppose not. A special proclamation.

"Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day." —(September 2nd, 1834.)

"When the Chinese soldiers appeared about the foreign factories, on the publication of this order, and all the native servants and porters were withdrawn from the British factory, Lord Napier requested a guard of marines from the ships of war at the Bogue, to come up to the city. All natives were forbidden, on pain of death, to sell any provisions to the British factory; and all foreigners to furnish supplies, on the penalty of suffering like restrictions themselves. At the same time, the passage of foreign boats between Canton and Whampoa was forbidden; allowing the de-

parture of foreigners, but the return of no one whatever."*

Thus operated on, more by stern necessity, than any apprehension of the exercise of physical force against him, Lord Napier took his departure, and the Chinese gained their point.

Unable to hire a conveyance, one of our party applied to a Hong merchant for his boat, in which we hoped to evade the law; but he not only lent us the boat, but accompanied us himself. He would not consent, however, to visit Honan, but instead, carried us to see a tea-garden, which to me was quite as interesting.

We soon entered a canal, along which the boat was poled. Houses of bluish bricks, the colour of which is owing to being baked without the contact of fire, or to some peculiarity of the clay, rose immediately from the water on each side. We passed numerous boats, and wherever there were children, they hailed us in tones of derision, crying as long as they could be heard, "Fan-qui"—foreign devils. Along the canal were several public tea-houses, apparently neat within, where the Chinese resort to play, drink tea, and smoke opium. At one of the miserable bamboo huts on the canal bank, resembling a sty, more than the habitation of human beings, we saw a woman preparing a large rat for cooking. After passing nearly half a mile

* Chinese Repository.

through contrasting scenes of opulence and misery, the boat stopped at a stair, and we entered a garden, adorned with summer-houses, and several large fish-ponds. The walks between the latter were paved, and a balustrade of porcelain ran along on either side. Numerous dwarfed trees, planted in pots, were growing along the walks. The practice of the art of dwarfing plants appears to be confined to the Japanese and Chinese.*

* "The general method of obtaining vegetable dwarfs is said to be the following: A quantity of clay or mould is applied to the upper part of a trunk of a tree, from which a dwarf is intended to be taken, and close to its division into branches. The mould is to be confined to the spot by coarse hempen, or cotton cloth, and to be carefully kept moist by water. In consequence of this application, continued sometimes above a twelvemonth, small tender fibres shoot down like roots from the wood into the mould. The part of the trunk emitting those new fibres, together with the branch arising immediately above it, is then to be carefully separated from the rest of the tree, and planted in new earth, in which the fibres become new roots, while the former branch is now the stem of the vegetable thus transformed in some measure. This operation does not destroy or alter the productive faculty which those parts enjoyed before their separation from the parent root. That which while a branch of the original tree, bore flowers and fruit, continues to produce the same, though no longer supported upon any stock. The terminal buds of such branches of trees as are meant to become dwarfs, are torn off: which circumstance prevented the further elongation of those branches, and forces other buds and branches from the sides. These branches are bent by wires to whatever form the operator wishes; and when the appearance of age and decay is meant to be given to a dwarf tree, it is repeatedly smeared with treacle or molasses, which attracts multitudes of ants, who, in pursuit of those sweet juices, attack the bark, and, by a gradual corrosion of it, produce the desired effect. These different processes are sometimes attempted to be kept secret by the gardeners, and they vary

In our walk through the garden we saw much to admire. We were led from it into an open field, and following a path along a ditch, met a number of women tottering along, owing to the deformity of their feet, produced by bandaging. They were just returning from the packing and sorting houses, where they had been employed. About three hundred women are attached to each tea-establishment, and receive for their respective labour about six cents a day, without other emolument of any kind. Those we saw were miserably clad, and their feet were bound with bandages, and in little shoes. If the bandages be left off, the feet very soon spread; and by doing so they would become more useful and trustworthy members, but this would be at the cost of pride.

We entered a building where tea is manufactured. The people were just departing from their labours. On the second floor were apartments, wherein the leaves are sifted and sorted by hand, and then packed, after coming from an apartment below, where they undergo the process of manipulation, in cast-iron pans, set diagonally in blocks of masonry about breast high. These blocks are

designedly in the mode of carrying them on: but the principle upon which they are founded is sufficiently apparent from what is related here; and the contrivance argues ingenuity and perseverance, rather than the practice does true taste, which consists in assisting nature in its most favourite works; not in counteracting its operations or distorting its productions."—*Staunton's China.*

arranged in rows, and each one has four pans with a furnace beneath them. The method of manufacturing tea has been already mentioned in a former part of this work.

We noticed here, among other things, a winnowing machine, in all respects like those used in the United States; and were informed, that it is employed in separating the several sorts of tea. The imperial, being the heaviest, falls first; next, the young hyson, then the gunpowder, and so on.

Green teas are very little used by the Chinese, though the "cup that cheers but not inebriates," is universal throughout the whole of the Celestial Empire, and is brought forward on all occasions and at all times of the day. Public tea-houses are found in every town and in every village in China. On remarking to a Hong merchant that the Chinese only use black tea, and asking for what reason, he replied, in a tone plainly showing in what estimation it is held, "What! me drink that poison stuff?" Ladies at home may take the hint.

Tea was introduced into England, by the way of Holland, in 1666, by Lords Arlington and Ossory, and through the influence of their ladies became fashionable in the society to which they belonged. At that period a pound weight of tea sold in London at nearly seventy pounds (Tournois), though at Batavia it cost no more than three or four. But this exorbitant price, which fell very slowly, did not impede the way of this beverage

into favour. It appears, however, that it did not come into general use before the beginning of the eighteenth century, about 1715, at which period the green tea was first employed in England. efore that time Bohea only was used.* In the ast hundred years the use of China tea has rapidly advanced throughout the world, to an extent which may be estimated from the following tabular statements:

Comparative View of the Exports of Tea from Canton to the United States, since July 1, 1830.

DESCRIPTION.	1831.	1832.	1833.	1834.	1835.	1836.
Young Hyson .	25,528	40,065	51,363	86,115	76,557	76,045
Hyson . . .	7,147	9,346	14,248	23,787	16,509	14,599
Hyson Skin & Twa.	5,447	20,883	36 608	34,368	16,982	23,372
Gunpowder . .	2,019	4,603	6,614	10,154	7,335	7,786
Imperial . . .	1,934	4,514	5,939	9,424	7,736	7,149
Souchong . . .	16,955	37,351	34.815	52,278	35,245	60,612
Powchong . .	559	2,245	4,723	9,181	5,733	4,385
Pecco	200	517	2,563	2,192	1,030	2,212
Bohea	3,592	12,182	13,665	1,445	779	871
Total .	63,381	131,706	170,538	228,944	167,906	197,031
GREEN . . .	42,075	79,411	114,772	163,848	125,119	128,951
BLACK . . .	21,306	52,295	55,766	65,096	42,787	68,080

"The tea plant is a bushy, evergreen shrub, which, if permitted to attain its greatest natural size, will grow to the height of about twelve feet. In botany, it belongs, according to the artificial system, to the class and order of Monadelphia Polyandra; according to the natural order of Linnæus, it belongs to the Columniferæ; and,

* Establecimientos Ultramarinos, tom. ii.

according to that of Jussieu, to the Aurantiaceæ. It constitutes by itself a distinct genus, of which there is but a single species; the plants yielding the different kinds of black and green tea being, in reality, according to the Chinese always, and now according to the admission of European botanists, no more than permanent varieties, the result of long culture, as is the case with many other plants useful to man. The leaves are alternate, on short, thick, channeled foot-stalks of a longish elliptic form, with a blunt, notched point, and serrated, except at the base. To a careful observer, these characters will always serve to distinguish the tea leaf from that of all other plants, except one of the Camellias, the *Sesanqua*; for the Camellias are of the same natural family, and, indeed, in China, are not unfrequently used as tea.

"The tea is, probably, an indigenous plant of China. This may be concluded, not only from its long culture in that country, but from its being found there in a wild state, and from the Chinese names for it having been borrowed by almost all foreign nations. These names are *Cha* and *The*. The first of these is the general term throughout China; and the last belongs to the dialect of Fokien. Most of the Asiatic nations have adopted the former, having received their knowledge of the plant from inland communication; and most of the European nations, their acquaintance with it having

been derived directly from Fokien by maritime communication, the latter. The exceptions among Asiatics are the Malayan nations, and among Europeans, the Portuguese. The plant has been cultivated in China from time immemorial, and its use is as much buried in fable as that of wheat or barley, or the vine, in European or western Asia. As a branch of husbandry, in China, it is at least as important as the culture of the vine in the southern countries of Europe. The latitudes in which it thrives best are from 23° to 30° north, or from the sea on the south to the great river Yangtse Kiang on the north. The northern limits of its culture, however, extend much beyond that river; and there are, in fact, few provinces or districts of southern and central China, in which the tea-plant is not extensively cultivated, at least for domestic use. The tea, like the vine, is cultivated on the sides of hills, in preference to the plains. It is raised from the seed, and yields its first crop in from two to three years. Where the best teas are raised, the plant is carefully pruned, and prevented from attaining a height exceeding two or three feet. The production of good tea depends upon soil and locality, fully as much as that of good wine; like it, too, the produce varies according to the care with which the crop is collected and prepared for use. The quality of the crop varies, also, with the nature of each season, like the vintage. From the same plant are com-

monly taken, in each season, four crops; a circumstance which is another cause of variety in tea, as it appears in the market. The younger the leaves when taken, the higher flavoured the tea, and the scarcer, and, consequently, the dearer the article. The earliest crop is taken in the beginning of spring, just when the leaf-buds are opening; and the last crop in August, when the leaves are coarse, abundant, and deficient in aroma and astringency.

"The green and black teas present a parallel case to the white and red grape, which yield wine of their respective colours. In both cases they are only varieties of the same species. The growth of teas of sufficiently high flavour to keep for a considerable time, and fit in consequence, for exportation to foreign countries, was, for a long time, confined to two provinces, or rather to a few districts of those provinces; for, in China, provinces, in so far as extent and population are concerned, are extensive kingdoms. These provinces were Fokien, which yielded black tea, and Kiangnan, which yielded green; the southern boundary of the first being in about the 24th degree of latitude, and that of the last in about the 30th. Of late years, and in consequence of the great demand for teas in Europe and America, the culture of the plant for exportation has been extended to three additional provinces, namely, Canton, Kiansi, and Chekiang, all lying between the 23rd and 30th in latitude. The provinces which produce good tea

for exportation may, in fact, be described as the Bordeaux, the Burgundy, and the *Midi* of China. By far the best teas are still brought from the original provinces; and the worst from the district of Woping, in Canton.

"In China, contrary to the universal usage of other great despotisms of Asia, the soil is private property; and, in consequence of the nature of the law of inheritance, and of the tyranny which hinders the accumulation of property, the land is very minutely subdivided, and the proprietors are little better than peasants or cotters, each, with the assistance of his family, cultivating his own farm. This of course applies equally to the tea districts, as t the other parts of the empire; and the tea is consequently cultivated only in small patches or gardens, not exceeding in extent the holding of an ordinary market-gardener. The leaves are picked by the cultivator's family, and conveyed at once to the market, where they are purchased by a particular class of dealers, who dry them under a shed, and, in this imperfect state of preparation, dispose of them to a second and higher class of traders, who sort the teas according to their qualities, and, after completing the process of manufacture, pack them in chests, dividing them into lots of from 100 to 600 chests, which are known in the Canton market under the name of Chops, from their bearing the signet, or mark (in Chinese, *chap*) of the merchant who makes them up.

"The tea arrives in Canton about the middle of October, and the busiest period of the trade extends from that time to the end of December. The commodity is conveyed, for the most part, by land carriage and by porters, and, generally speaking, from 400 to 700 miles; and the owners accompany it. The traders in green tea amount, in number, to not less than 400. The dealers in black tea are less numerous, but more wealthy. Both are in the habit of receiving advances, to some extent, from the *Hong*, or security merchants of Canton.

"In the market of Canton, the sorts of tea quoted for exportation do not, generally, exceed fourteen or fifteen in number; about eight of which are black and six green. They are as follows, with their respective ordinary prices:

Green.	Taels per Pecul.
Twankay	24 to 28
Hyson Skin	24 to 28
Young Hyson	44 to 54
Hyson	44 to 54
Imperial	50 to 60
Gunpowder	59 to 62

Black.	Taels per Pecul.
Bohea	12 to 15
Congo	24 to 28
Campoi	24 to 28
Souchong	20 to 36
Ankoi	20 to 24
Caper	24 to 25
Orange Peko	25 to 26
Flowery Peko	50 to 60

"In round numbers, one tael per pecul may be considered as equivalent to one halfpenny per pound, in estimating these prime costs. The terms under which the different sorts of tea are here described, are, for the most part, European corruptions, and some misapplications of Chinese words; but as they are of long established use, and perfectly well understood both by the European and Chinese merchant, they describe the commodity intended with sufficient accuracy for all practical purposes. The European nations, however, do not among themselves uniformly agree in the use of these terms; thus, what the English and Americans called Hyson Skin, is called by the Dutch and Germans simply *Schin;* and what the first two call Young Hyson, is called by the last *Uxim.* What the English call Imperial, is called by the Dutch, Germans, and French, Pearl tea, and by the Americans, occasionally, Gomee. The Russians, moreover, import, by their caravans, some teas altogether unknown by name or kind to the other nations of Europe, except through them.

"The highest quality of black tea is Peko, or more correctly Flowery Peco. This consists of the early spring buds of the finest black tea plants, intermixed, as is commonly believed, with the flowers of the fragrant olive, which is discoverable in the form of small white particles. This, as will be seen by reference to the price

current, runs up to the price of 60 taels per pecul, equal to 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. The very same plant, in its second and more abundant crop, may yield Souchong, at 36 taels per pecul, or 1s. 6d. per lb. Its third crop may consist of Congo, Campoi, or low Souchong, bearing no higher price than 10*d.* per lb.; and its fourth and last crop may consist of Fokien Bohea, worth no more than 15 taels per pecul, or 7½*d.* per lb. The coarsest Boheas in the market, which are rated above at 12 taels per pecul, or 6*d.* per lb., are, however, frequently found as low as 5*d.* per lb.; and some very coarse teas, used by the Chinese themselves, are cheaper than sloe-leaves could be brought to market in this country. The lowest Boheas of the Canton market consist of the refuse or sweepings of superior black teas, or of the inferior tea of Woping, in Canton. It may be remarked, by the way, respecting this word Bohea, which is now applied by Europeans to the lowest denomination of black tea, that it was, and still is, applied by the Chinese to the finest description of it, that which grows on the mountain Vu-i-shan, in the province of Fokien, as noted for its production of fine teas as the estate of Clos-Vougeot for its Burgundy, or that of the Chateau-Margot for its claret.

"Similar observations apply to the green teas; although the range of qualities and prices here is not so great as in the black. The difference

between the highest and the lowest quality of green tea, is not so much as in the proportion of two to one; while that between the highest and lowest of the black, is as much as four to one. The highest quality of green tea, is Gunpowder. This consists of the first leaves of the vernal crop of the green tea-plant. As it comes to us, it is not mixed with the flowers of any foreign plant, as Peko is; but such is the case with some of the green teas imported by the Russians, called Chulan, Imperial, and Hyson, and Young Hyson, which compose the second and third crops. The light and inferior leaves separated from Hyson by a winnowing machine, constitute Hyson Skin. The fourth and last crop constitutes Twankay, Singlo, &c. With respect to the last word, the same observation applies to it as to Bohea. Singlo, or more correctly Songlo, takes its title from a mountain of that name in the province of Kiangnan, where the finest green tea has been long produced.

"China, although the only country in which tea, fit to become an article of commerce with foreign nations, is produced, is very far from being the only one which yields it. It is extensively cultivated for domestic use throughout the Japan islands, Corea, Tonquin, and Cochin-China, that is, from about the latitute 13° North, up to 40°. By far the best of these teas is that of Japan, which, however, is not manufactured in

such a way as to enable it to keep for any length of time. The Dutch occasionally bring small quantities of it to Batavia. The tea of Tonquin and Cochin-China consists of a large coarse leaf, which undergoes no other preparation than that of being dried under a shed. It possesses, contrary to what might be expected, so little aroma or astringency, that it is necessary to boil, instead of infuse it, as is done with the Chinese tea. In the mountainous parts of some of the northern portions of the Burman territory, where the plant, judging by its native name, appears to be indigenous, tea is cultivated for a use to which no other nation puts it. The leaf is preserved in oil and eaten as a dainty, pretty much after the manner in which European nations use olives.

"The tea-plant will thrive under the equator; that is, it will grow vigorously, and produce flowers and fruit. It is found again blowing in the 40th degree of latitude, and it is a sufficiently hardy plant in the greenhouses of Europe up to the 50th degree of latitude. It might have been expected from this, that like the coffee of Arabia, it should long ago have been propagated in many regions of the new world, as well as in the settlements of the European nations in Asia. This, however, is very far from being the case; and after two centuries' acquaintance with the plant, the production of it for foreign consumption is still confined to a few districts of its original country, China. The fact

seems to be, that like growing the vine for good wine, the growing of the tea-plant for the production of good tea, is a matter of considerable uncertainty and difficulty. Except a few provinces of France, Germany, and the Peninsula, there are no countries which produce wines good enough, generally speaking, for a foreign market. A peculiar soil and climate seem, in the first instance, indispensable to the successful culture of the tea-plant. These may, no doubt, be found without difficulty; but there are other indispensable requisites not so easily attainable—a skilful culture of the plant, and a skilful preparation of the leaf; and above all, a low rate of labour, to meet the numerous manipulations which the plant requires, especially in the gathering and manufacture. It is not likely that the culture will succeed, on this last account, in any of our colonial establishments, where, it may be observed, that neither the rearing of silkworms nor the culture of the vine, both of which imply the necessity of cheap labour, have yet been prosecuted with any decided success. The culture of the tea-plant has been tried in Brazil for the last twenty years, but apparently without any profitable result. It has been tried also on a larger scale in the island of Java, within the last seven years; but there too, according to all accounts, without much success, although carried on with the advantage of Chinese from Fokien to superintend and conduct it. It is

scarcely reasonable, indeed, to expect that a plant which thrives best between the 24th aud 30th degree of latitude, and in a country of primitive formation, should succeed in a country between the 6th and 7th degrees of latitude, and of volcanic formation. It is true that the experiment is made in the mountainous part of the country, at an elevation of between two and three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and where the heat is consequently not very great. This, however, is not sufficient. In such a country, there is neither a summer nor a winter like those of China. There may be the same average heat throughout the year; but a delicate and capricious plant, like tea, in so far at least as the quality of its produce is concerned, may require a very different distribution of it, from what the climate of Java can by possibility supply.

"The experiment is about to be tried under more favourable circumstances in Hindoostan; a country which affords many situations in which the soils and climates approach nearly to those of the tea provinces in China, and where the price of labour is as low as in China itself. The inhabitants, indeed, want the skill and enterprise of the Chinese, but these may be furnished by European direction. The governor-general has, in fact, deputed a gentleman of great spirit and intelligence to China, in order to bring to India tea-plants and natives of the country accustomed

to their culture, and considerable hopes may be entertained of the ultimate success of the project. There are countries nearer home, in which the culture of the tea-plant might be carried on to advantage; such as some of the warmer parts of Spain, Portugal, and Greece. The habits of the tea-plant appear to bear some analogy to those of the myrtle; and the experiment might be tried in those situations which the myrtle in its natural state is found to affect.

"With regard to the consumption of tea in different countries, a few observations will here be made. The whole of the nations of Asia, east of Siam and Cambodia, are what may be termed habitual and immemorial consumers of tea. It is to them what beer is, or more correctly was, to the northern, and what wine is to the southern nations of Europe. First, then, with respect to the Chinese themselves, the tea-pot is in constant requisition, from morning till night, with persons of both sexes, and all ages, and of all conditions. The higher classes only use the good teas; and it is perfectly well known that what is used by the lower is often of a very execrable quality, and sometimes is not tea at all, but some coarse and rude substitute. The Chinese use it always without milk, and sometimes without sugar. The Chinese people, in round numbers, and by the most authentic and recent census, are 370 millions in number; and if they consume only in the same

proportion as the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, or at the rate of 40,000,000 lbs. per annum, for a population of 25 millions, which, under a system of free trade, would probably be the lowest consumption, their annual consumption will amount to more than 246,000 tons; but, if they consume, and that is more probable, twice as much as the average consumption of this country, then the whole will approach to near half a million tons a year. Let the value of the smallest of these amounts be taken as equal on an average only to the price of the lowest black tea in the Canton market, or 7½*d.* per lb., and it will be found to amount to the sum of eighteen millions and a half sterling. This is, no doubt, a great quantity, and a great value; but still it will not appear extravagant, when it is considered that the same people consume a foreign drug and luxury, opium, to the annual value of 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

"The next greatest consumers of tea are the Japanese, who use it to nearly the same extent as the Chinese, and whose number has been computed at 60 millions of people. The Coreans, the Tonquinese, and Cochin-Chinese are also considerable consumers of tea. The Japanese receive some of their finest teas from China; and the other two nations, all that is good of theirs. Throughout Mongolia and Siberia, among all classes of the people, tea is nearly as much an article of necessity as in China itself. The tea made use of by these, commonly called brick tea, is extremely coarse

and made up into hard cakes in the form of a parallelopipedon, about eighteen inches long, ten broad, and near an inch thick. This is boiled in milk, thickened with rye meal, and seasoned with salt. In short, the Tartars make a meal of what the Chinese sip as a beverage. The whole of this tea is brought from China, and although coarse, it consists of the genuine plant.

"The Chinese colonists in the eastern Archipelago, in Tonquin, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siam, and the country of the Burmese, use tea as excessively as the inhabitants of the mother-country, and from them its use has been borrowed by the native inhabitants of these countries respectively among whom, however, it is confined to the wealthy. Tea is therefore a considerable article of export to all the countries in question; and it is conveyed to them all by the junks, except to the Burmese dominions. These receive the commodity overland from the province of Yunan, packed in parcels of a globular form, about the size of an eighteen pound shot. This, as may be seen by the works of the Jesuits, is the shape in which the coarse tea of Yunan has always appeared. The natives of Hindoostàn, Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, are not unacquainted with the use of tea; but have recourse to it, for the most part, only for its supposed medicinal virtues. The Turks or Turcomans of Trans-Oxiana and the neighbouring countries, however, use it far more extensively, and, indeed, with the exception of the Chinese and their

immediate neighbours, seem to be among the greatest consumers of tea. It is remarkable that the tea used by these people is all green, and a great deal of it of a very fine quality. As may be seen in the narrative of Lieutenant Burnes, the article is brought to Trans-Oxiana by the routes of Yarkand and Badakhshan. To these places it is conveyed by Chinese caravans, and there purchased by the Moslem merchants, who convey it to Bokharia. It is made use of always without milk, and generally without sugar.

"After the Chinese and Japanese, the greatest consumers of tea are the English, and these are followed by their descendants in America by the Dutch, and the Russians. These are the only nations of the European stock that are considerable consumers, the use of coffee or chocolate predominating among the rest. The following is an approximation to the quantities of tea consumed by the respective countries of Europe and America, with the settlements and colonies of the former:

	lbs.
Great Britain	40,000,000
Russia	6,500,000
Holland	3,000,000
Germany	2,000,000
France	250,000
United States	10,000,000
British America and West Indies	1,500,000
British settlements in India	1,000,000
British Australian Colonies	250,000
	64,500,000

" Besides the quantities here enumerated, there are exports to the Cape of Good Hope, to the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in India, and to South America, together with some to Denmark and Sweden; so that, upon the whole, the total consumption of the European and American nations, will probably not be overrated at 65,000,000 The value of this, in China, will not be less than 4,000,000*l.* sterling.

" Will China be able to supply any great quantity of tea, on the increased demand which the European and America nations are certain in no long period of time to make? There is no doubt but it will. The consumption of tea among the European nations, commenced about one hundred and eighty-five years ago; and in this time it has risen from a nameless fraction, to near 30,000 tons a year. Our descendants in America, who hardly existed when the tea-plant first became known to Europe, now consume upwards of 5000 tons of it. In the commencement of the eighteenth century, the consumption of tea in England did not exceed 100,000 lbs. weight. In the commencement of the nineteenth century, it was 20,000,000 lbs.; and these 20,000,000 lbs. will probably be doubled in the first year of the system of free trade. In all this time there appears to have been very little variation in the price of tea in China, beyond the effect of variety in the seasons. This assertion is of easy proof, and the proof, as a matter of satis-

faction and curiosity, may be given. The following statement contains, in two columns, the prices of tea in China in 1747 and 1827. The first of these is taken from a work, published in London, in 1762, called "A Voyage to the East Indies;" and the second from the printed Canton price current of the 14th December, 1827.

Teas.	Taels per Pecul. 1747. From	to	1827. From	to
Bohea	13	15	14	15
Congou	25	30	24	28
Souchong	35	75	26	27
Hyson	45	60	48	58

"In 1747, the quantity of tea consumed in the United Kingdom, was short of 2,400,000 lbs. weight, and in 1827, very nearly 30,000,000 lbs.;* yet this immense increase had in eighty years' time produced no sensible effect on the price in China. The only remarkable discrepancy regards the tea called Souchong; and this is very easily accounted for. The finer description of this class of tea has, in fact, of late years, according to the official statements made by the East India Company and their officers in China, disappeared altogether from the market. 'We are unable,' says the supercargoes in a letter to the directors, 'to account for the entire disappearance of Souchong.'†

* First Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, 1833.

† First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1830. Appendix.

"Even the extraordinary demand to which the opening of the trade in this country has given rise, has enhanced the price of tea in the market of China, no more than six or seven per cent.; and this amount has only been produced by the exclusion from England of the supply which the overstocked markets of Europe and America could easily have furnished. The capacity of China to furnish a great supply of tea, is very strikingly illustrated by the facility with which it has furnished that of green tea, an article not used by the Chinese themselves at all, except rarely for medicinal purposes; which no foreign Asiatic nation, but one, consumes at all; and which, in fact, may be said to be grown for the exclusive use of the nations of the European stock. Green tea did not come into use among European nations until many years after black had been in pretty general use; and yet, at present, the quantity of this commodity exported from China is not short of 15,000,000 lbs. weight, and at its average value is greater than that of black tea; this cannot be estimated at less than a million and a quarter sterling. The enhanced price of teas in China, produced by the opening of the English trade, it may safely be predicted, will be of very short duration. Less tea will be sent to the continent of Europe and America, until the stocks there are diminished, and, in the mean time, the Chinese will be stimulated to plant more tea; and the new plantations will yield their first crop,

as already stated, in so short a period as from two to three years. The culture, it has been before stated, has already been extended from two to five provinces; and, if requisite, may be extended to many new ones. The land in which tea is cultivated, consists of hills or mountains of no remarkable fertility, and not suited for the production of corn. Of these, notwithstanding the highly cultivated state of the plains and valleys of China, there is much unoccupied, and, in fact, in a state of nature. Indeed, it should be remarked, that of the five provinces in which the culture of tea is at present carried on, four are the most populous of the whole empire; while that in which the greatest part of it is conducted, Fokien, receives much of its supply of food from abroad. The fear, then, of China being unable to furnish an increased supply of tea, is only an idle chimera, originating in the ignorance of fraudulent representations of monopolists. But for argument's sake, let us suppose that there was some physical obstacle to the production of tea being at all increased, as there may possibly be to the production of Tokay; and at the worst we should have the old quantity of tea, at a price lowered by the difference of all that is now got by the monopoly.

The effects of tea upon the human frame, are those of a very gentle stimulant, producing an exhilaration of spirits. It is to this alone that it owes its general adoption. With the exception

of coffee, and even this is not so generally congenial, it is the only stimulant which, taken in considerable quantity, is in no respect deleterious. The diversity in the flavour of the different varieties is probably fully as great as in the different varieties of wine. The flavour, and the stimulant quality also, are most distinct in the green variety of the plant, and it is this, consequently, which is most apt to disagree with some constitutions. Even to the use of this, however, custom soon reconciles the human frame. In the relative quantities of the two kinds consumed by different nations, accident, caprice, or fashion, appear to have a very large share. The Chinese themselves, and the oriental nations generally, hardly consume any thing but black tea. The English consume in the proportion of but one part of green to four of black. The Americans, on the contrary, consume two parts of green to one of black. The English in Bengal, and in the Australian settlements, scarcely consume any thing but green. The English at Bombay and Madras, hardly use any thing but black tea. The English merchants and other residents settled at Canton, follow the example of the Chinese, using black tea alone. In Holland, the proportion of black tea used, is much greater than of green; and in Russia, nearly the whole consumption consists of black."

In the evening we were visited by our Chinese friend, who carried us to the Garden, and were

informed that he was a physiognomist. At our request, he declared, after a close scrutiny of the countenance, what he thought to be the character of several persons present. He gazed at the individual under examination for some time, and then began, "Me think you good man," and, after a second look, continued, "but you be more better in ten year more." A second individual, he declared, would be "more better" in twenty years, and a third one, who was "one of your fat men who sleep o' nights," he pronounced to be a very good man, saying, "Me think you very contenty inside—in fifty year more you be more better."

These examinations afforded us much amusement; but the physiognomist was much struck when I explained to him the general principles of phrenology, and illustrated them by an examination of his head, expressing my opinion of him from its result. He frankly admitted all I said to be true, but seemed very much puzzled to comprehend how I could speak so minutely of his character.

He departed, perfectly delighted with phrenology, and gave us an invitation to visit him the next day.

According to the appointment, he received us at his residence at twelve o'clock. We first entered an open court, which led to the inner apartments, or offices, on the ground floor, through one of which we were conducted up stairs, into a room plainly furnished with bamboo sofas, chairs, and mahogany

tables. Large sheets, filled with the sayings of Chinese sages, hung upon the walls, in lieu of pictures, a fashion which is common throughout the empire.

Our host was a man of about thirty-five, of pleasant and gentlemanly manners, and possessed the reputation of being a literary man. After some commonplace observations, we were offered Havanna cigars; and, in a few minutes afterwards, a table, loaded with a variety of delicious sweatmeats, was placed in the centre of the room. Tea, of delightful flavour, followed, served in fine porcelain cups, without milk or sugar, and in the bottom of each were several expanded tea leaves. Instead of a saucer, the cup was sustained in a silver tray, so fashioned as to embrace the cup very much as the calyx embraces the corolla of a flower; one leaf, or petal of the calyx being turned down, answered as a handle to support the whole.

Remarking upon the excellence of this tea, our host told me that it was not the best tea procurable in China; that the choicest teas were all consumed at home; some of which sold, in the great cities of Pekin and Nankin, at thirty dollars a catty, equal to one pound and a third: that only the commonest sorts reach the Canton market; that the connoisseurs in tea possessed an exquisite nicety of taste; from his account, equal to that of the gentleman who detected, in the flavour of wine, the taste of iron and leather, derived from a key, with a lea-

thern tally, which had accidentally dropped into the tun.

After this entertainment, cigars were again served, and our host, and several Chinese merchants who were of the party, recurred to the subject of phrenology. From the accounts which our host had given them of the subject, these gentlemen were curious to witness, for themselves, what they had heard of at second hand, and our host was anxious, perhaps for the sake of his veracity, that they should be convinced his relations were true. The subject was again explained to them, and, after examination, an opinion of the leading points of individual character was expressed. Those who knew the individual under question decided, that the opinion was correct, and he himself acknowledged it to be true. In the same way, several were examined with a like result. The interest in the subject increased, and all present became, suddenly, converts to the doctrine; and at once placed such implicit faith in phrenology, that they sent for their clerks, here termed pursers, and requested me to express my opinion of their respective characters, without reserve. One wished to know whether a young man, who had just submitted his head to examination, might be safely trusted, if sent into the country to collect money. Another asked, in relation to his clerk, "Can me trust that man go Nankin for pigeon—buy silk—

suppose he no stop talk with gal, and no make he pigeon?" Another inquired if I could determine, positively, by examining a married lady's head, whether her issue would be "one gal or one bull child." Being very anxious for the latter, and having offered up many prayers to the goddess Kuan-yin for a son, he was much disappointed to learn that the practical application of phrenology did not extend quite so far.

Our visit lasted more than two hours. I received many thanks, and many apologies were offered for troubling me with so many examinations.

After this, I was daily visited by numbers of Chinese gentlemen, always for the object of a phrenological examination. Before leaving Cantòn several small presents of choice teas were sent us as a complimentary acknowledgment; but none, I suspect, worth thirty dollars a catty.

On the day of our departure from "this inner land," our baggage and purchases were collected at the entrance of the Hong, and the custom-house mandarins were sent for to examine it. The shopkeepers usually pay the export duties, and give a draft on themselves, called a chop, for the amount; this chop is given to the mandarin, who afterwards collects it. The mandarins were content to see the trunks open, without any scrutiny of their contents, saying that we were, also, mandarins, meaning to express thereby that they were sensi-

ble to a courtesy of fellow feeling. When they had departed, with their hands full of "chops," we embarked every thing on board of a packet-boat for Macao.

CHAPTER XV.

SKETCHES IN CHINA.

June, 1836.

LIKE the people of every nation, the Chinese have their eulogists and their detractors, and few nations are more variously estimated at a distance, than that of China.

The history of nations which have attained to refined civilization, is properly the history of man. States and nations spring from each other as in the case of individuals; with the difference, that in families, the place of those removed by death, nature supplies by the birth of others in constant and regular succession. But in states, society disturbs and breaks through this law by some fortuitous commotion; and in this manner, ancient monarchies have overturned republics in their infancy; an erratic and savage people, by their eruptions of violence, have dismembered, broken and finally swallowed up, in their course, multitudes of nations. China has as yet resisted this

fatality. Her empire—whose boundaries on the north, are Russian Tartary, on the south, the Indian islands; Thibet on the west, and the ocean on the east—occupies nearly the whole of the eastern extremity of the Asiatic continent. To frequent wars, to their position, and other causes, may be attributed the comparative short life and small extent of European nations, which have destroyed and succeeded each other in turn; but the Chinese, shut up and protected on all sides, either by oceans or deserts, have succeeded in establishing a permanent state, which claims the astonishing antiquity of four thousand years. They never speak of their conquests, but of the wars they have endured; more happy in civilizing their conquerors than in destroying their enemies.

In a region so long civilized, deep and ancient traces of industry should be perceptible; and we accordingly find, the plains have been levelled, preserving only an inclination sufficient for irrigation, which is justly considered a grand resource and means of agriculture. Few trees are met with, because they would absorb the juices of the soil at the expense of the nutritious grains. Nor do we see here, parks or extensive woods, destined to be the nursery and shelter of wild beasts, for the sport of princes and patricians, to the detriment of husbandmen.

In China, the only requisites of a pleasant country retreat, are a convenient location, an agreeably

varied cultivation, a few trees, irregularly planted in imitation of nature, and a few mounds of porous stone, which, at a moderate distance may be mistaken for rocks or mountains. The slopes are terraced; and to detain the rain and spring waters, there are reservoirs, formed with great skill: even the canals and rivers, passing the bases of hills, are made to irrigate their summits and declivities, by the application of means, which simplifying and multiplying machinery, diminishes the labour of men, enabling two to accomplish what a thousand might otherwise hesitate to undertake. These heights ordinarily yield three crops a year. A sort of plant yielding oil, is followed by the harvest of cotton, which is succeeded by that of potatoes: though not universal, this routine is almost invariable.

In most of the mountains, unsuited to tillage, we find forest trees, convertible to the purposes of civic and naval architecture. In many are found mines of iron, *white copper*, supposed to be a natural alloy of iron and zinc, copper, and tin, which are wrought with considerable activity; silver-mines also exist; gold-mines have been abandoned either because enough of that precious metal for commercial purposes was gathered in the mountain torrents, or because they were not sufficiently productive to pay the expense of working them.

The sea once rolled over the sands, where now stand Nankin and Che-kiang, the largest provinces

of the empire. The Chinese repulsed, restrained and lorded it over the ocean, as the Egyptians domineered over the Nile; they have joined to the continent lands, which were separated by the waters: the reaction of their industry has been successfully opposed to the action of the elements, producing results which might appear supernatural, were they not continuous and sensible. In an equal degree, they have forced the capabilities of the waters and the fertility of the soil. In the midst of rivers, which intercommunicate by canals, and traverse most of their cities, are seen floating towns, formed by an affluence or assemblage of boats, full of people, who, devoted to fishing, are born, live and die upon the waters. The coasts are swarmed with thousands of vessels, their masts appearing like moving forests. Anson wondered that fishermen, thus established, were not diverted for a moment from their labours, to admire his ship, the largest, perhaps, that had, at that time, ever touched in those places. This indifference only proves, they deemed their occupation of fishing too important to be neglected for the gratification of unprofitable curiosity.

The mode of cultivating the earth is not the same throughout the empire; but varies with the quality of soil and diversity of climate. In the lower and southern provinces, the land requires a rice continually submerged, which is coarse and affords two crops a year. In the dry and elevated

sections of the interior, the rice, which is of less volume, taste, and substance, yields but one harvest. In the north, all the grains of Europe grow, and of very good quality. From one extremity to the other, the empire abounds in vegetables, more particularly in the south, where they form, with fish, the chief articles of diet, but in other provinces the use of meat is common.

The practice of improving lands by manuring is universal; indeed this great system by which nature is made to rise up out of her own ruins, is better understood, and followed at a greater expenditure of time and labour, in collecting the materials for compost, which the Chinese draw from every source, than in any other country in the world.

The great origin and support of rural economy in China are found in the industrious disposition of the people. They are probably the most laborious people on earth, and their physical constitution seems to require less repose. They labour every day in the year except the first, appropriated for reciprocal visiting among families, and the last, consecrated to the memory of their ancestors; the first is an obligation imposed by society, the last by domestic worship or religion. They look upon religion as the bond which unites and civilizes man; and their religion consists in nothing but the practice of the social virtues. Some view them as a wise and rational people who act cor-

rectly without requiring the curb of law: their private worship is the love of their fathers living or dead; their public worship is the love of labour, and the labour most religiously honoured is that of agriculture.

Agriculture is held in such high esteem in China, that those emperors are most revered, who, preferring the good of the state to that of their own house, excluded their own sons from succession, to place upon the throne men taken from the plough. The memory of those illustrious agriculturists is reverenced, who sowed the seed of the permanence and felicity of the empire, by securing the fertility of the soil, the inexhaustible source of harvests, and of the multiplication of men. All the emperors of China are husbandmen by the law of the land. One of his public duties is to open the soil in the spring, with a pomp and circumstance which attracts all the farmers in the neighbourhood of the capital. Great is the concourse to witness the honours which the Prince accords to the queen of arts. He is not, as in the fables of the Greeks, a god who tends the flocks of the king; he is the father of his people, who, taking the plough in his own hands, points out to his children the true treasures of the state. Soon he returns to sow the field he has worked; and the example of the sovereign is followed in all the provinces, and at the same period, the viceroys or governors, repeat similar ceremonies in the pre-

sence of assembled multitudes. Europeans who have been present at these ceremonies speak of them in terms of admiration. But we must not suppose from this, that the court of Pekin is seriously devoted to the labours of the field: the arts of luxury are too far advanced, for these demonstrations to be more than mere ceremonies. This homage of the sovereign to public opinion, contributes towards its perpetuation; and the influence of opinion is the first and best protection of government.

This influence is sustained by bestowing honours upon those who distinguish themselves in agricultural labours. Any one making a useful discovery is brought to court, and on communicating it to the Prince, is sent, at the expense of the government, through the different provinces to teach his new method. Agriculture has been thus fostered from time immemorial. Every agricultural region, enjoying a long period of peace, must abound in inhabitants. China is very populous, and enjoyed or was rather incumbered by her immense population when conquered by the Tartars: many, therefore, infer that the laws of the empire were very wise because they were adopted by the conquerors; but the Tartar consent to the government of China, does not prove the goodness of its laws. The law of nature is, that the large masses shall control the small, which law obtains as well in morals as in physics. If we compare the num-

ber of the conquerors with that of the conquered, it will be seen that for every Tartar there were at least fifty Chinamen. One individual cannot change the manners, customs and laws of fifty men; then how could the Tartars do otherwise than adopt the laws of China, whether good or bad, particularly as they had none to institute in their stead. This conquest is worth comparing with that of the Spaniards in the New World, where, in exception to the general rule, a handful of men imposed laws and customs, at the point of the sword, upon a great number of nations, which were without both, or those found amongst them were badly constituted. The extraordinary revolution of China demonstrates the cowardice of the nation, and the indifference towards its princes is characteristic of a state of slavery.

The immensity of its population tends to annihilate the sentiment of tenderness for offspring, which is common to man and brute, and disposes parents, from selfish motives, to destroy their own children, without the feelings of the public being outraged, almost making us doubt the existence of an innate perception of right or wrong.

May the slow advancement of the arts and sciences in China be attributed to the excessive population? Properly speaking, there is no machinery nor extensive manufacturing establishments in the empire, similar to those which, in modern times, have sprung up all over Europe. They

know nothing of the economy of time. Most of the manufactures, required to supply the commercial houses of Canton, are made at Fu-shaw, a large town situated a few miles to the westward of the city: still, the number of hands and the amount of labour performed is by no means inconsiderable. There are annually employed in weaving silk, about 17,000 individuals, men, women and children, which number is increased when there is a pressing demand for their labours. From the prevalence of a utilitarian principle, always crying *cui bono?* their improvements have generally halted at a point far short of perfection. This culpable indifference — this state of mental repose, worthy the name of lethargy, so contrary to the natural inclination of man, may be attributed to the overgrown population; since their urgent necessities require that all their powers should be directed to the acquisition of the common sustenance of life, leaving them but little time either for reflection or retirement. The population of the empire is reckoned at 360 millions, and it is supposed one hundred millions are capable of bearing arms. Supposing China to be the most populous region of the universe, does it not follow, as a natural consequence, that it is the most corrupt? Experience teaches, that the vices of communities are in proportion to the number of individuals composing them. Can we suppose, that the customs of the Chinese, throughout their extensive empire, are more un-

changeable than in great European cities, where honour, a sentiment unknown in China, lends splendour to virtue, and, to a great extent, tempers vice?

It does not appear that these people possess the refinement which has been claimed for them. Impunity of crime is rather the distinguishing mark of a barbarous than of a civilized nation. Though every circumstance suggests to them colonization, they do not comprehend its policy, or they disdain resorting to a means so simple and so safe, to drain the surplus population, preferring their everlasting distress. What neither the providence nor prudence of the government will undertake, circumstances have compelled many to attempt. Necessity has driven thousands from their homes in China, to seek a livelihood in other countries. They are found at Batavia, where, for a century past, thousands annually arrive, but, comparatively, few return. In Banka, they are employed in the tin-mines; at Singapore, they are mechanics or traders; and in Borneo they are numerous, and variously employed; in Bankok, they compose four-fifths of the population: in short, they are scattered from Bombay, through India, both continental and insular, scarcely a town in the vast extent being without them. They are superior to all the other people of the East, on account of their habitual industry, and their labour is more profitable !*

* The relative value of the labour of Chinese, Malays, and Choulials, (natives of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts,) at Penang, or

A love of his native soil, a common feeling to all men, induces many of these Chinese adventurers, after acquiring a little property, to return to their respective provinces, where they are, in general, soon despoiled, under some miserable pretext, by the Chinese authorities.' On emigrating, they join some one of the secret societies, found every where, existing as branches of the great Triad society, the object of which is to overthrow the Tartar government; and if the branch to which they belong happen to be fewer in number than others in the place where they return, they become subject to false accusations, which are sworn to by hundreds of that society, while those of their own brotherhood are afraid to step forward in their behalf. They do not murder, but their victims are occasionally enticed to the hill country, and there flogged to death.

Nobility, in China, does not consist in ancestral and hereditary honours, but in personal rewards; the simple title of noble does not give distinction, which is here the meed of merit alone. Many magistrates, and persons in dignified situations,

Prince of Wales Island, is thus stated by Mr. Crawfurd, in his "Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China:" a Malay field labourer works but twenty-six days in the month, and receives 2.50 dollars wages; a Chouliah works twenty-eight days, and receives 4.40 dollars; a Chinaman thirty days, and receives 6.00 dollars. Therefore, the labour of a Chinese is worth fifty per cent. more than that of a Chouliah; a Chouliah's seventy-five per cent. more than that of the Malay, and a Chinese one hundred and twenty per cent. beyond the latter.

are selected from families whose only occupation is the labours of the field. The merit of a son ennobles the father, but this pre-eminence ends with him. This law may be admired, though we know that hereditary nobility, also, possesses advantages. Where is there an individual so base, who does not feel the weight of a name, descended through a long line of distinguishing ancestry, and feel emulous to preserve his honours, and hand them down to his descendants unstained? But nobility in China is not what it is in Europe. The mandarins, and people in high office, are almost universally selected from a certain class, called the literary, so that the pursuit of letters is the high road to official preferment. The literary institutions of China are the pillars of the government. Her military forces are inadequate to hold together the numerous and extensive provinces and territories that constitute the wide domain of the reigning dynasty. Both the army and navy have become enervated and dissolute. "As police-men, in the capacity of lictors, thief-takers, and executioners, they are not less detested than feared by the common people. They are, in fact, for all purposes of defence, little better than *dead men*; nay, were they stricken from the catalogue of the living, we can scarcely doubt that the stability of the empire would remain unimpaired."*

High rank in the state is the greatest glory to which this people aspire; and, because it brings

* Chinese Repository.

them within the reach of that dazzling prize, learning is chiefly valuable in their eyes. Strict examinations, regulated by a fixed code of laws, have been instituted and designed, solely to elicit from the body of the community, 'the true talent' of the people, with the ulterior intention of applying it to purposes of government. At these examinations, which are open to all except menial servants, lictors, play-actors, and priests, it is determined who shall rise to distinction, and shed glory back on their ancestors, and forward, upon their posterity, and who shall live on in obscurity, and die and be forgotten. The competitors at the Olympic games never entered the arena before the assembled thousands of their countrymen with deeper emotion than that which agitates the bosoms of those who contest the palm at these literary combats. The days on which they are held, and their results published in Canton, are the proudest its inhabitants ever witness.*

* "The highest literary examinations in the empire are triennial, and take place at Peking. Besides these stated, there are also occasional examinations which are granted by special favour of the emperor. Up to these contests the most distinguished scholars go from all the provinces. This privilege is not gained without long, patient, and successful endeavour; the examinations, at which it is determined who shall enjoy it, occur also triennially, and are held in the metropolis of each province. These examinations are of incomparable interest to great multitudes of people in every department and district of the empire. High honours, rich emoluments, and, in a word, every thing that the young aspirant and his numerous kindred most esteem are at stake."—*Chinese Repository.*

Though many thousand candidates offer, only a limited number can obtain the degree which entitles them to the highest trial in the capital of the celestial empire. Many individuals spend their lives in anxious study, and submit to frequent examinations, without ever reaching the goal of their ambition. Hence it is, that the most respectable families destine one or more sons to become competitors for literary distinction; but often leave the rest uneducated, and ignorant even of reading and writing.

Whatever, from its nature, cannot be divided, as the sea, rivers, and canals, is common property; navigation, fishing, and hunting are free; the domain of the citizen is not subject to feudal laws. This is a rational state of things; but in a densely populous country, people cannot forego their crops, to convert their fields into parks or hunting-grounds, nor can the wealthy arrogate to themselves exclusive privileges of wilds and waters; these laws, then, are rather the result of necessity than prudence.

The eulogists of China declare, that the priests dare not assert odious pretensions over men or property, nor have they ever attempted to do so. They are certainly very numerous, and enjoy, even the mendicants themselves, large possessions, but without any perceptible tax on citizens: they would hold the priest to be insane, who should support himself, whatever he requires being due

to the sanctity of his character. This, however, others deny, and tell us, the priests are more dissolute and more idle than those of any other country, besides being the most importunate beggars in the world.

Toleration in China only extends to the religions anciently established in the empire; Christianity has been proscribed, and edicts are fulminated against it from time to time. For this reason, accounts of the success of the missionaries at Canton are not published in the "Chinese Repository," fearing that their converts might be seized through such reports and banished to Tartary.

With the exception of the customs, collected in the seaports, only two taxes are known in the empire; one, a personal tax, paid by every individual according to his means, from the age of twenty to that of seventy years, and the other upon produce, which is either a tenth, twentieth or thirtieth, according to the qualities of the soil. The manner of collecting these taxes is as paternal as the contributions themselves. The only charge of the public on those of small means, is to billet upon them the aged, the sick, and the poor, until their tax be thus paid off.

The mandarins receive the tithes in kind, and the capitation tax in money; the municipal officers deliver these to the treasury, through the hands of the provincial treasurers. The destination of these revenues precludes malpractice in their collection.

It is known that one part is devoted to the maintenance of the magistrates and military; the proceeds of the part sold is not issued from the treasury, except in case of public necessity; and, finally, the remainder is stored for time of need; so that what they *loaned* in times of abundance is again paid back to the people. Yet in spite of these precautions, and the encouragement given for the importation of rice, severe distress often falls upon the poor. Death by starvation amongst the indigent about Cantòn, is of almost daily occurrence. We occasionally see notices of donations to provide for the burial of the poor, who have thus miserably perished, and for the support of those, who, with life, have overcome the horrors of their condition; but the pittance given is often beneath contempt.

The eulogists of the Chinese contend, that man must multiply prodigiously, in a nation enjoying so many advantages; a nation remarkable for the fecundity of females; where libertinism is very rare; where the extension of paternal rights and authority, necessarily inspires a passion for a numerous offspring; where rights are equal; where the mode of life is simple, and always conducted with a strict view to economy; where bloody wars are not frequent; where custom inhibits celibacy; where the climate is healthy, and epidemics almost unknown. As no country is more favoured in these respects, no country is more populous; and, in-

deed, it is too much so; for the annals of the empire prove, that a failure of the crops rarely occurs without being followed by popular commotions. It is not necessary, they continue, to seek farther for the causes that restrain the march of despotism. These frequent revolutions suppose a people sufficiently civilized to know what respect is due to property; that the submission they concede to the laws are secondary obligations, subordinate to the unalienable rights of nature, which have constituted society only for the convenience of all its members; and the moment they are in want of necessaries, the Chinese acknowledge a power which does not support them, for the obligation of preserving the people constitutes the rightful duty of sovereigns.

The Emperor is aware, that he reigns over a people who observe the laws no further than these contribute to their happiness; that if he should act in a tyrannical spirit, he would run the risk of being hurled from his throne. In this, there is no great difference between the Chinese and Europeans, as is abundantly seen both in modern and ancient history. The sovereign placed at the head of a people, who observe and judge of his acts, does not erect himself into a being to whom every thing is permitted; he does not break the sacred contract under which he holds his sceptre; he is so well convinced, that the people understand their rights, and possess the power of defending them,

that, when they join in opposition to the mandarin governing a province, he at once displaces him, and delivers him over to trial, without any previous investigation of his case; and even if acquitted, he does not send him back, because it is considered a crime to have incurred the displeasure of the people. This complacency, which in other countries, is a constant source of intrigue and discord, is found not to be inconvenient in China, because its inhabitants are naturally of a mild disposition and lovers of justice. Since necessity forces the prince to be just, it ought also to make him prudent and foreseeing.

It seems, that both the laws and customs of China join in establishing it as a fundamental principle, that the Chinese nation is one family, of which the emperor is the patriarch. He exercises his authority as a father, and not as a conqueror, nor as a legislator; and it is impossible to imagine the high respect and love the Chinese bear their sovereign, or, as they style him, their common, their universal father. This popular homage is founded on that established by domestic education. In China, both father and mother maintain an absolute authority over their children, no matter what may be their age, or how high the rank to which they may have attained. And this is but just, because the parents are responsible for the acts of their children. If a son commit murder and escape, the father's head may satisfy the de-

mands of justice. Paternal authority and filial love are the walls of the empire; they are the protection and support of its customs; and the bond of union, as well between the prince and his subjects as between themselves.

The Chinese government, in its march towards perfection, has reached the point whence all other governments set out; a patriarchal government is that of nature itself.

But, on closer examination, we find the Emperor of China is a despot, wearing the title of father. The Chinese live under a double despotism; parental tyranny, and the civil tyranny of the crown. Whence, we may infer, what is true, that they are the mildest, the most insinuating, the most plausible, the most respectful, and, at the same time, the most vile, the most cowardly and submissive of slaves. What is the effect of parental despotism, but to produce outward respect and latent feelings of resentment towards the parent? And what is the effect of civil despotism upon the individuals of a nation?—Baseness and the extinction of every moral virtue. A patriarchal government, according to our notions, can only exist in a tribe pursuing a pastoral life in a limited territory, and is chimerical when applied to a population of three hundred and sixty millions of people, spread over a vast empire. Neither the emperor nor his mandarins, if they possess any knowledge of themselves or their own acts, can believe in its existence.

They must smile at the deception, they practise upon their slaves.

Religion exercises no influence upon the Government. The differences of sects and their disputes cause neither wars nor disturbance. The literary mandarins, the body from which all civil officers are appointed, presiding at the examinations above mentioned, select those only to become members of their class, who are to their taste; nor do they permit the priests to interfere in matters of government, nor to make their own dogmas the base of public morals. Confucius, whose memory and doctrines are equally revered by all classes and sects, and whose precepts were illustrated by his own exemplary practice, founded the national religion of China. His code is the natural law in action. Confucius teaches, that reason is an emanation from divinity; the supreme law is the concordance of nature and reason, and that these guides are communicated from heaven, or God. The Chinese have no epithet for God in their language, but speak of him as "Master of Heaven." The emperor is the pontiff and judge in religious matters. This unity of power might be dangerous, were it not kept in check, by national customs and public opinion, which are ingrafted upon the minds of the people by early education.

Before five years old, the Chinese do not pretend to instruct their children. At that age they are taught to write words, or rather hiero-

glyphics, which are representatives of tangible things; after this they commit to memory sententious verses, and moral maxims of the sages. At a more advanced age, they are taught the philosophy of Confucius. Such is the common education. Those who are destined to become competitors for literary honours, and a place in the class of literary mandarins, add other studies, the object of which is to point out the proper conduct of man in various situations of life.

Another branch of education is the study of the code of ceremony of etiquette, in the observance of which the Chinese are scrupulously exact. They accord a species of worship to urbanity, which, to a certain extent, conduces to the harmony of society; though it tends to repress mental activity, much in the same manner that external worship makes hypocrites while it assists true religion. There are tribunals for the punishment of infractions of the established laws of courtesy, as well as for those of moral rectitude.

There are persons who are disposed to view and extol the Chinese as a nation of sages, without pausing to consider their many crimes and imperfections. They are a people who destroy their own tender offspring; a nation wherein the most infamous crimes are common; where the crimes arising from want are neither punished nor prevented; where the merchant cozens his fellow-citizen and the stranger; where a knowledge of

the language is the remotest boundary of science; where a language and a literature, scarcely adequate to the common purposes of life, have remained for ages unimproved; where the guardians of morals are people without honour or probity; where justice is venal to an extent unexampled on the face of the earth; where the great legislator Confucius, so much revered, is unworthy perusal, unless we excuse the poverty of his writings in consideration of the ignorance of the times in which he lived; where a chain of beings, from the emperor to the lowest vassal, live by preying one upon another; and where the sovereign permits no one to fatten, except with the design of sucking his blood, when it may suit his imperial appetite; and who, by despoiling those who have abused power under him, has obtained the title of avenger of his people!

Those who have visited China unanimously agree, that the greatest caution is requisite to avoid being cheated; in fact, "As great a cheat as a Chinaman," has become a proverb.

A European merchant, after receiving on board his vessel the goods he had purchased, discovered that he had been deceived both in their quality and price; but as he asked a small deduction on this account he did not doubt the Chinaman would readily come into his views. The European began, "You have sold me merchandise of a very inferior quality."

"That may be, but you must pay."

"You have treated me unjustly and abused my confidence."

"That may be true, but you must pay."

"Then you are a cheat and a scoundrel."

"That may be, but you must pay me, nevertheless."

"How do you wish me to speak of the Chinese in Europe, where they are supposed to be virtuous? I will say you are a set of cheats"

"You can do that," coolly replied the Chinaman, "but you must pay."

The European, after heaping abuse upon the fellow, and fretting himself into a rage, without obtaining any thing further than the calm reply, "you must pay," was forced to count down the money. On receiving it, the Chinaman said, "Instead of getting yourself into a passion, would it no be more better you no have speaky, and begin where you have finish?"

Not long since, a gentleman met at Honan, opposite to Canton, an unfortunate Chinaman, who had broken an arm. Compassion for his situation induced him to carry the poor fellow to a physician across the river to dress the fracture. The gentleman for some time paid the fellow's daily ferriage, but as the arm had improved, ceased to do so. One day he asked the patient why he had neglected to visit the physician. "Because," he replied, "you no have give money, pay sampan. This one very fine thing *for you*,

to have make well my arm this fashion; but me no come doctor house no more, you no pay."

Such is the shameless effrontery and cool impudence of the Chinese, which seem to be also parts of their education.

Their notions of justice may be gathered from the following anecdotes related to me by the parties concerned:

A lady at Macao put into the hands of a Chinese tailor, materials, valued at forty dollars, to be made into a garment. At the appointed time it was brought home, but to her mortification, the material had been completely spoiled, and the habit was not fit to wear. It was returned upon the workman's hands, and the husband of the lady applied to the Portuguese authorities for redress, but was put off, under one pretext or another, from time to time, till his patience was exhausted. He now applied to a mandarin, and offered to give him the material in the tailor's hands, provided he should succeed in making him pay twenty dollars as damages, which were also to belong to the officer of justice. The Chinese officer willingly undertook the case, and in a day or two, reported somewhat in the following manner: "Me have squeezy that tailor-man that silk, and that twenty dollar, me thinkey you one very good man, one man what know justice and law; me likey you; suppose you please, me give you my son, for one servant, so he learn justice all same from you!"

On another occasion the same lady employed a tailor to make two dresses. He brought home one of them, and demanded pay for making both. The lady told him she would do so when the other dress was finished. "How can finish that other one piece dress?—some man steal him, now me no got the silk."

Of their mode of reasoning we may form some idea from an anecdote in relation to the late Lord Napier, who was termed by them an "eye," it would seem the only word they could find in their language equivalent to the term superintendent; and certainly it is sufficiently symbolic of the superintendent's official duties.

The British merchants were anxious to impress upon the Chinese that Lord Napier was a man of exalted rank, and consequently could not submit to the indignity of communicating with the government through the medium of the Hong merchants. They told them he was a lord, a nobleman, which the Chinese, having no hereditary nobility except in the family of the Emperor, could not clearly comprehend. They remarked, "He is a nobleman in your country; how many men are there of the same rank?" and were told, "a great many, perhaps a thousand."

"Are there any people of higher rank?"

"Yes, Viscount."

"Well; how many Viscounts have got?"

"A great many."

"Well; any of higher rank than Viscounts?"

"Yes; Earls."

"Well; any more?"

"Yes; Marquises."

"Well; any more?"

"Yes; Dukes."

"Well; any higher than Dukes?"

"None except the King and Royal Family."

"Well, then, now me know, this eye, Lord Napier, all the same as one common mandarin!"

The charity of the Chinese, to judge from their charitable institutions at Cantòn, is not very active. There is a foundling-hospital, an alms-house, and an hospital for lepers, which are supported by duties levied on foreign ships. Within a few years, a dispensary, under the successive care of European or American physicians, has been opened. At present it is under the management of the Rev. Peter Parker, M.D., who is indefatigable in his exertions, and thus far his surgical operations, chiefly for diseases of the eye, have been very successful. I paid a short visit to this establishment, when there were from eighty to one hundred patients, receiving in turn professional advice and medicine.

Patriotism, if such a sentiment exist, displays itself in making roads, planting trees on the roads, and erecting lodges to shelter the traveller. They esteem China and its inhabitants to be superior to all the rest of the world, and treat all foreigners

with contemptuous condescension. Wedded to their own country entirely, the Chinese neither derive from, nor lend aid to other people. It is difficult to form an accurate opinion of this nation; for strangers are not permitted to enter it, nor are its own subjects allowed free egress and return. But we may doubt their pre-eminence until they bring us works in philosophy superior to those of Locke, Descartes, or Spurzheim; works on mathematics equal to those of Newton, Leibnitz, and their successors; works in general literature worth perusal; or painting, statuary, and architecture that may claim admiration. What is Confucius when placed beside Franklin, Bacon, or Montesquieu ?*

* Staunton's China, the Chinese Repository, and La Historia de los Establecimientos Ultramarinos.

SKETCHES

IN

THE BONIN ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XVI.

July, 1836.

At five o'clock P. M., on the 23rd of June, the Peacock got under way, in company with the Enterprise, and both vessels stood seaward, among the Ladrones, a group of small islands in the vicinity of this part of the coast of China. The name is derived from the Portuguese, and given by them from being a lurking-place, from the remotest period to the present time, for hordes of Chinese pirates. In 1809-10, the pirates navigated 1800 vessels, large and small, manned by 70,000 individuals ;* a numerical force greater than that of the British navy at the present day.

For the first few days the weather was a succession of squalls, rain, calms, and hot sunshine, and the wind prevailed from the northward and east-

* Chinese Repository, vol. iii.

ward. We came in sight of the island of Formosa, and had determined to pass through the Formosa passage, and enter the Pacific Ocean by doubling the north end of the island; but, fortunately, the wind proved more favourable, and we were enabled to follow the Bashee passage, between the south end of Formosa and a group of small islands called the Bashee.

Formosa is mountainous, and sustains a numerous population, estimated at between two and three millions. In 1683, after the conquest of China by the Tartars, it fell into the hands of the Chinese: previously to that time, however, the Dutch had established themselves, and were expelled (1624) by the Chinese conquerors. The western side of the island, alone, is under the Chinese yoke, and seems not to be held quietly; for, constant struggles are made by the aborigines from the eastern side of the mountain-chain which divides the island, to free themselves. The island is considered as a department of the province of Fuh-keen; it supplies China with sugar, rice, and camphor, in large quantities.

Formosa is admirably situated for trade. It is within ninety miles of China, and four hundred and fifty of Japan, and still less of the Philippines. Should any European power desire an insular position, with a view to commerce with China and Japan, a more desirable one cannot easily be found.

We scarcely entered the Pacific Ocean before we found a general improvement in the sick, though the weather was not uniform, or remarkably plea sant. On the evening of the 14th of July, we made the Bonin Islands; and the next day, at half-past two o'clock P. M., piloted by Mr. Savary, who came off to us in a canoe, we anchored in Port St. William, as it is to be in future called, though formerly known as Port Lloyd, or Port St. George.

The Enterprise, Captain G. N. Hollins, had anchored about three hours before us.

"Oh, had we some bright little isle of our own,
In a blue summer ocean, far off and alone,
Where a leaf never dies in the still blooming bowers,
And banquets on through a whole year of flowers;
Where the sun loves to pause
With so fond a delay,
That the night only draws
A thin veil o'er the day;
Where simply to feel that we breathe, that we live,
Is worth the best joy that life elsewhere can give.

"There, with souls ever ardent and pure as the clime,
We should love, as they loved in the first golden time;
The glow of the sunshine, the balm of the air,
Would steal to our hearts and make all summer there!
With affection, as free
From decline as the bowers,
And with Hope, like the bee
Living always on flowers,
Our life should resemble a long day of light,
And our death come on, holy and calm as the night!"

Thus sang and sighed half a dozen hardy sons

of the ocean, about the year 1829. They had tried their fortunes in every clime; they had attempted continents and isles; but Dame Fortune always frowned upon their efforts. They were at the Sandwich Islands, tired of the world, when they heard the Bonin Isles were a paradise, not only of the mighty Pacific, but of the whole world. Its waters were represented, truly, to abound in fish and turtle, and its wilds in game, its shores with safe harbours, its mountainous surface in beautiful valleys, and its soil was capable of producing every thing without cultivation or toil. The Bonin Islands offered them, then, a place where they might retreat from all the cares and vexations of the world, and for the future be free from all anxiety. They flattered themselves, that the soil would produce so abundantly, that they would be soon enabled to supply vessels employed in whale fishing, with fresh fruits and vegetables, which in a short time would result in competency and even fortune to themselves, when they might return again to the society of the world.

In this mind, Mathew Mazarra, a Genoese, Alden B. Chapin, Nathaniel Savary, of Massachusetts, Richard Millechamp of England, and Charles Johnson of Denmark, set sail from the Sandwich Islands, accompanied by several of the natives, male and female, who served them as servants and wives. In June, 1830, they arrived at the haven of their hopes, and before reaching the

land, they found they had been misled, but it was too late to retreat. They landed and began the settlement of that island of the group, called by Captain Beechey, Peel's Island.*

In September, 1825, the port was visited by an English ship, named the Supply, and in 1826, the William, a whale ship belonging to London, was lost here, owing to neglect. In June, 1827, the port was visited by Captain Beechey in H. B. M. Ship Blossom.

When he arrived off the harbour, they met two individuals in a boat, who proved to be a part of the crew of the unfortunate William. "This ship,

* "These islands, which are about twenty-nine degrees east of Canton and eight south from Jeddo, are most conveniently situated for watching the trade of China on the west, the Philippines on the south and Russia on the north; and if any intercourse is soon to be opened with the Japanese, they form the position from which it could be most easily effected. The earliest account which we find of the Bonin Islands, is contained in Kœmpher's History of Japan. 'About the year 1675,' says the historian, 'the Japanese accidentally discovered a very large island, one of their barks having been forced there in a storm from the island of Fatsisio, from which they computed it to be three hundred miles distant towards the east. They met with no inhabitants, but found it to be a very pleasant and fruitful country, well supplied with fresh water, and furnished with plenty of plants and trees, particularly the arrack tree, which, however, might give room to conjecture that the island lay rather to the south of Japan than to the east, these trees growing only in hot countries. And because they found no inhabitants upon it, they called it *Bunin Sima*, or the Island Bunin (in Chinese *woojin*—without people), the uninhabited island. On the shores they found an immense number of fish and crabs, some of which were from four to six feet long;" probably turtle.—*Chinese Repository*, 1835.

which had once belonged to his Majesty's service, had been anchored in the harbour in deep water, in rather an exposed situation, the port then not being well known, and had part of her cargo upon deck, when a violent gust of wind from the land drove her from her anchors, and she struck upon a rock in a small bay close to the entrance, where in a short time she went to pieces. All the crew escaped, and established themselves on shore as well as they could, and immediately commenced building a vessel from the wreck of the ship, in which they intended to proceed to Manilla; but before she was completed, another whaler, the Timour, touched there, and carried them all away, except our two visiters, who remained behind at their own request. They had been several months upon the island, during which time, they had not shaved, or paid any attention to their dress, and were very odd-looking beings. The master, Thomas Younger, had unfortunately been killed by the fall of a tree, fifteen days previously to the loss of the ship, and was buried in a sandy bay on the eastern side of the harbour."*

The Blossom remained from the 8th till the 15th of June. Captain Beechey took formal possession of the island in the name of His Britannic Majesty, and nailed to a tree a sheet of copper, with the necessary particulars engraved thereon. He named the harbour, in compliment

* Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits.

to the Bishop of Oxford, Port Lloyd, and the island in which it is situated Peel's Island.

In August, 1834, the American barque Volunteer touched at the Bonin Islands to procure supplies. Having been informed, at the Sandwich Islands, that the settlers had gone to the south island, she made for that first, and, after a fruitless search for them of three days, found them on the south of the north island; and on the 24th, under the pilotage of Mr. Mazarra, the ship was worked into the harbour, now named by the settlers Port St. George. The latitude is 27° 6′ 30″ north, and the longitude 142° 16′ east.* Their position, on the most modern chart, is very much to the westward.

We found the entrance of the harbour, the approach to which is very pretty, to be on the south-western side of the island. The rocks are, in many places, castellated, and some of them, on close examination, present the appearance of rude masonry, wherein the stones had been piled up loosely together, and a mortar, or cement afterwards poured in amongst them. Within a few miles of the coast are seen, here and there, a fragment of rock standing above the sea, like a sentry-box, or watchtower.

The general outline of the bay is oval, being about a mile and a half long, and three-quarters of a mile wide, having the entrance towards the southern end, which, between the promontory, on

* Chinese Repository, 1835.

the south side, and the quoin-shaped rock, mentioned by Beechey, we estimated to be half a mile wide. The breadth of the channel, however, does not exceed a quarter of a mile. The land round the bay is broken into numerous angular hills by ravines, rather than valleys, beautifully green with close-growing trees and shrubs, which flourish to the water's edge. The average height of the hills is, perhaps, four hundred feet; and the highest point does not, probably, exceed six hundred. The shore of the harbour is broken into several small bays, or coves, bounded by white sand beaches, which, contrasting with the blue sheet of water, and, here and there, the white spray dashing over a dark rock, imparts picturesqueness to the whole scene.

However bright the picture to a sea-weary voyager, or however fit for the pencil, Mazarra and his followers saw nothing in the deep ravines, and fan-leaf palm, and cabbage-tree, to invite them to establish their home upon this uninhabited island. But it was too late to turn back. Though disappointed to find there were no plains of any extent, and that the small basins of level land among the hills were covered by a close jungle, they set to work, and now show, with no little satisfaction, the result of their tedious and painful toil. The same industrious perseverance in the "far west" would have made them comparatively rich men; but here their snugly-thatched cabins are valueless, in the event of their leaving the

island, which is not improbable, and then their six years' labour is thrown away. Nor have they been free from those difficulties from which they fled. They found here, as every where else, that man is doomed to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Until their first harvest, their food consisted almost entirely of turtle and the pith of the cabbage-tree, which no one eats except from necessity. Instead of a mild and benignant clime, every year has brought typhoons and earthquakes, and the numerous uptorn trees bear testimony of the violence of these storms. Indeed they have never been able to obtain bananas, for the reason that, about the period of their maturity, the plant is destroyed, or torn away by a typhoon. Neither the phases of the weather nor the prevalence of the wind have been regular in their succession any two years.

Besides these difficulties, dissensions crept into their little community, and still exist. They have been several times annoyed by refractory seamen, turned on shore by the masters of whale-ships, where, being without a fear of punishment, they have committed outrages and violence to an extent seriously detrimental to the prosperity of the settlement. In 1833, the whaler Cadmus left fifteen men on shore, among whom were some of daring character, who put the settlers at defiance; eight of them perished in an attempt to leave the island in a whale-boat, and the rest have been since taken away.

Within a few days, a written code has been agreed to by all the settlers, now fourteen in number, the principal features of which are, that all disputes shall be decided by the opinion of the majority; that, henceforward, no individual shall instruct or assist any vessel in taking turtle, nor shall any one sell turtle, or feed his hogs upon it; no one shall maltreat the slaves or servants of another, or endeavour to seduce any woman from her lord; nor shall any one encourage men to desert from ships arriving at the island, but, on the contrary, use every effort to apprehend and return every deserter to his vessel. This code is signed and sworn to by all; and it is remarkable that only three of the fourteen are capable of writing their names; Mazarra, the most respected among them, is not one of the latter number.

The morality of the community is, I fear, of a low grade, and religion is out of the question. Most of the white men have one or two wives, natives of the Sandwich Islands. In all, there are nineteen women on the island, among whom infanticide and infidelity, which they are at no pains to conceal from their husbands, are common; and this in a population not exceeding forty souls!

On the evening of our arrival, I accompanied several officers in pursuit of turtle. We landed on one of the sand beaches in the bay, under the dark shade of the high land. We had scarcely sprung on shore, before a turtle weighing between two and three hundred pounds was found, and

turned upon his back. Encouraged by this success we searched the whole beach very carefully, but without finding any thing. We now divided the party, and took our stations along the sand to wait until the animals should come up from the deep, as they are wont to do at night, to deposit their eggs. The sky was bright with stars, and there was a dead silence, only interrupted by the sullen plash of the sea; we lay shrouded in the shade of the rocks beneath wide-spreading trees, and the whole scene disposed the mind to wander from present objects. I gazed upon the heavens, and wondered that man could become so lost to his own interest, and in affection for friends at home, as to prefer an exile, "The world forgetting, and by the world forgot," on an isle like this,

"In a blue summer ocean, far off and alone,"

to pursuing an honest life beneath his native skies.

The revery was broken by a canoe gliding gently upon the sand, and two athletic forms leaped silently upon the shore, and drew their frail bark after them. They advanced towards us without speaking, and we could discern through the deep shadow of the hills, that they were seamen in coarse shirts and trousers. They proved to be Americans who had been nearly a year on the island; and were now on the same errand with ourselves. They

told us they were out every night, and the beach we were upon was a very good one for our purpose. They led us into the edge of "the bush" where the turtles go to lay their eggs, and after a little while, we found one as large as our first prize.

A fellow-feeling and sociability had suddenly grown up between the new-comers and our boat's crew. The two quondam whalers at once aided them in dragging the turtle to the boat, and assumed a generous contempt for an animal over which an alderman's eyes would have sparkled, when some one gave a hint about "the poor fellows having a share." "Why, we have it every day," said they, as they launched their little canoe, and with one or two strokes of the paddle urged it out of sight, though not out of ear-shot; for the stroke of their paddles and the sound of their voices were heard some time afterwards.

After watching another hour we returned on board, and found another party had been more successful, having taken five.

From February till August, great numbers of turtle visit the sandy beaches, where they deposit their eggs in the sand beyond the reach of the tide. In a few weeks the process of incubation is completed by the heat of the sun alone; and the young turtles, numbering from one to five hundred in each nest, betake themselves to the water. The half-grown turtles may be taken on shingle and rocky shores, but never on sand beaches. After

the season they disappear, and from some of them having been taken with Japanese hooks in them, are supposed to visit the coast of Japan. Dampier, speaking on this subject in his voyages, expresses his opinion that the habits of turtles are migratory.

While here, we caught about forty, any two of which furnished ample food for one hundred and eighty persons during a day. Notwithstanding the innumerable eggs deposited and hatched, the settlers think the number has in the past years diminished, and hence the regulation above mentioned in relation to them. They suppose the turtle does not attain its full size in less than five years. When they first escape from the egg, they are about the size of a dollar; and when full grown, from four to six feet long.

The next day we pulled ashore, and landed near a mass of rock standing apart from the shore and connected to it by a flat of broken stones, over which we made our way to the beach. It is narrow, and forms a dividing line between Port William and a small bay, which opens more to the southward. Here Mr. Mazarra met us, and led us towards the little village, at the entrance of which are several broad-leafed trees. Several Sandwich islanders, men and women, were lounging on some rough hewn logs, beneath their shade. We halted here for a moment, and Mr. Chapin and an Englishman came forward to welcome us. The latter was tremulous, and had a wild expression, which be-

trayed his fatal addiction to the abuse of intoxicating spirits. We learned afterwards, that three barrels of New England rum had been lately obtained; and, having been nearly a year without any thing of the kind on the island, it had met with rather a hearty reception. "Nothing will be done," said the 'old gentleman,' as Mazarra is respectfully styled, "until it is all gone, and that will be in a few days."

We were now led through the village, consisting of half a dozen comfortable huts, each fenced in with vertical posts of cabbage-tree, including a small garden in front. We were conducted to the dwelling of Mr. Chapin, and ushered into a square apartment that betrayed the professional taste of the tenant. On our left stood a table, covered with newspapers and writing materials, and over it, upon the wall, hung a spy-glass, and a thin manuscript, headed "Laws of the Bonin Isles." A sea chest stood on each side of the room, and a bed, with calico curtains, filled each corner. A few French prints, and a shelf of fifty or sixty miscellaneous volumes, occupied rather than adorned the walls. A chair of home manufacture, and a three-legged stool completed the furniture.

A door between the beds communicated with two inner apartments, half the size of the first, in which were women engaged in affairs of the household. The roof was thatched with fan-palms, and the walls hung with coarse mats. Such

is the general style of the huts of this new settlement, which is called Clarkston.

Mr. Chapin, barefoot and in shirt and trousers, his face shaded by a broad hat of sinnate, invited us to be seated; and as he conversed, with folded arms, walked the floor as if he had been upon a quarter-deck. He was polite and intelligent. He showed us his corn-field, and a saline spring close at hand, and assisted us in picking up some small shells from a fresh-water stream. Melons, yams, sweet potatoes and taro were abundant, and the Indian corn was flourishing.

Among the vegetable productions of Bonin, are several varieties of wood well suited to cabinet work; but difficult to get at, from the almost impenetrable jungle in which they grow. It was said that camphor and spice trees abounded, but the settlers have not yet met with either.

Hogs and goats are numerous, and many are running wild in "the bush." Domestic fowls, in spite of feeding and kind treatment have forsaken the village, and subsist wild in the jungle.

When the settlers came to the island they found the house-fly in great numbers, and to their surprise, more numerous in the interior of the island than upon its coasts. Small lizards, crows, and a species of *ptyropus*, called flying fox, were very numerous. The latter were very troublesome to the products of the gardens. While here, we got two of the foxes on board; one alive, which

in the course of two days became tame and fond of being caressed. It ate melon and sweet potato, and remained in the cabin suspending itself by its hind legs. One day it alighted on the stuffed skin of its mother, when it manifested much sensibility, and clung to it with seeming affection. This is the animal, erroneously mentioned in Beechey's Voyage, as a Vampire bat. It is of a blackish-gray colour, and has light chestnut-coloured irides; but in other respects does not differ from that seen in various parts of India.

On a second visit to Clarkston, we found our acquaintances on the beach with a number of dogs, which they found of very great use in their hunting of hogs and goats. They had instructed the dogs to catch fish, and two of them will plunge into the water and seize a shark, one on each side, by the fin, and bring it ashore in spite of resistance. One of these dogs had several scars, which he had received in contests with wild boars; and on one occasion was so severely wounded, that his master carried him home on his back a distance of several miles.

I embarked with a friend in a small canoe, paddled by two Sandwich Islanders, and, crossing the bay, ran through a natural tunnel, or rocky cave, open at both ends, which pierces the southern promontory of the small bay. The passage was, perhaps, thirty yards long, and there was just room for the canoe with its wide-spreading out-rigger

to pass. The water within the cave was smooth and of considerable depth, but so transparent, that various sea-shells and different coloured marine growths were seen among branching coral at the bottom. Emerging on the other side we were in the open Pacific. Next we entered a little bay, wherein a number of porpoises were sporting gaily in their native element; and the canoe was paddled to shore and drawn up on a pretty sand beach, which at this point was not more than ten feet wide, dividing the blue waters of the ocean from a stream, which, from its stagnation and greenish colour, might be mistaken for a pool. A canoe loaded with melons and pumpkins, floated on its surface; and a Sandwich Islander, asleep in the shade of a rock hard by, declared it to lead to some habitation or cultivated ground. It is emphatically called *the* river. In a moment our light bark was carried over the sand and launched upon its peaceful bosom. We again embarked and pursued its windings for half a mile. It was perfectly calm and silent, and no animated thing except ourselves, was abroad. On one side, the rocky bank rose perpendicularly three or four hundred feet; on the other, it spread out into a level plain, a quarter of a mile in extent, covered with trees and wild brushwood. Presently we espied, on a point stretching into the stream, a little terrier, that stood with ears erect and one foot raised, regarding us with attention. We had

no sooner doubled the point than we met Mr. Mazarra in a canoe. He had been to his plantation; but kindly turned about, and we paddled on together for a quarter of a mile, and landed.

This plantation, where we saw corn, yams, sugar-cane, and taro *(arum esculentum)* growing luxuriantly, extends on either side of the stream to a considerable distance. The soil is rich, and the hills rise on all sides forming a long narrow valley. After examining the farm, we entered the dwelling of our host, which resembled the huts at Clarkston, and refreshed ourselves with a fine melon. I observed here a great number of spiders, and wondered they were permitted to infest the domicile, till Mazarra said, "We find them very useful in killing the flies about the house, and are glad to see them."

We returned as we came, and not finding our boat at Clarkston, spent some time wandering over the rocks, which the tide had now left, in search of shells.

I have sometimes asked myself, whether our friends who have conchological propensities, ever think of the labour and peril often undergone to obtain the specimens which they desire for their cabinets. Many a severe illness have I known to result from expeditions of this sort, the individual being alternately drenched by the sea, and exposed to the blaze of a tropical sun; and at the same time, perhaps, snuffing up the morbiferous

effluvia from some neighbouring marsh. Then, one's hands are often severely cut and scratched by efforts to detach the animals from their place of abode.

We found specimens of beautiful limpets, turbo, and the giant clam (*tridacna gygas*). Those of the last genus, nine or ten inches long, were usually found between rocks, secured by the peduncle or foot below, and the zig-zag mouth gaping open an inch wide, the thin membranous portion of the animal, which is of a purple colour, floating over the margin of the shell. When disturbed, the membrane was immediately drawn in, and the shell closed, at the same time spirting a fine thread of water, ejected as it might be from a syringe; sometimes air-bubbles alone escaped. A half-hour's hard labour was not unfrequently expended to obtain one.

By surprising them, limpets may be easily detached; but if they ever take the alarm at your approach, their resistance often foils your wish to obtain a perfect shell. They are furnished with a thick fleshy belly, which, on occasion, applies its edges very closely to the rock, while the centre is raised so as to produce a vacuum; then, the weight of the superincumbent atmosphere is sufficient to press them with great firmness to the spot of location. Chitons offer the same kind of resistance. I have often watched these latter animals, and observed their movements. Loco-

motion in them, is effected by undulating the surrounding fleshy rim, which binds their several pieces together, and is much more rapid than one would suppose. I have seen them on a smooth rock, drive off every other sort of shell. Indeed, it would seem that all the marine animals of this character are gregarious. Those of the same class are found in groups, waiting to receive the food that the water may cast in their way, or deposit around them when it recedes.

By some process, the smooth shells are covered with a slime, which enhances the brightness of the colours in the young individuals when recent, which is somewhat diminished after the animal is killed, and the shell cleaned. In the old shells, the slime attaches to itself particles of sea-weed, sand; and sometimes small shells of different species, which give it a coating that in time becomes a part of the shell.

These animals do not labour all for themselves. The small ones are destined to become food for the larger; and their habitations often become homes of a kind of crab, which manages to remove the owner and architect, and take possession himself. From this circumstance, sailors call them pirates. They usually select some univalve shell that has an inner chamber, in which they accommodate the soft part of their bodies, leaving their heads and claws outside, to seize upon their prey and drag their habitations after them. On this

island, there are two species of land helix; but I could not find a single one alive. The pirates had taken possession of them all. On a distant part of the island I found, one day, hundreds of pirates, clothed in almost every species of univalve, feasting on the remains of a dead turtle. They appeared like people of every nation in their respective costumes, congregated at a fair. There was one thing in common; they were all rapacious, and all had red claws. My approach gave them alarm, and they hurried away in all directions to escape. Some little crabs had got into shells disproportionately large, and waddled off like a boy under a man's hat and coat; while others had lived so long in their shells as to outgrow them: these found their houses no impediment to rapid flight. The villains seemed to possess a sense of right and wrong, and fled, because they knew they had been guilty of murdering the innocent, to appropriate their homes. I could show them no quarter; though I presume, they only pursue the instincts of their nature.

SKETCHES

IN

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

September, 1836.

On Thursday, the 21st day of July, at six o'clock A. M., the little squadron got under way, and bade farewell to the Bonin Isles. For the first few days the wind prevailed from the northward, and was accompanied by rain.

On the 25th of July, at meridian (latitude 31° 50′ N., longitude 150° 28′ E.), the remains of Mr. J. Dickinson Mendenhall, acting purser of the Enterprise, were committed to the deep. Mr. Mendenhall, for several years a valetudinarian, was taken ill at Bankok; but sailed from Macao in a state of convalescence. A few days afterwards he suffered a relapse, and for the sake of better accommodation, was received into Captain Stribling's cabin on board of the Peacock, on the 28th of June, in the China Sea.

A funeral at sea is always impressive: the present was particularly so; for we were paying the last tribute to one who had been generally beloved and respected by the officers of the squadron. The flags of both vessels were hoisted at half-mast high; the coffin, covered by a flag, was placed in the lee gangway; the tolling of the ship's bell summoned the officers and crew on deck; a solemn silence every where prevailed, broken now and then by a slight swash of the sea against the vessel's side. While the service of the church was being read, the Enterprise, with tolling bell, passed under our stern, and came close under our lee. Her bell was then silenced; the officers and crew were gazing from deck; one plunge—and the broad blue bosom of the Pacific Ocean closed over the mortal remains of one much loved, leaving no trace to mark his grave.

His friends have the consolation of knowing, that his illness was smoothed by every possible attention; and that his last moments were as tranquil as sleep. His exemplary moral life should make us hope that when the sea shall give up her dead, he will wake in the mansions of the blest.

Between the latitudes of 32° and 34° north, we saw many large shoals of flying-fish; and now and then a dark-coloured albatross, circling and sailing through the air with easy motion, now pausing and again shooting ahead, as if to show how impossible it was for the ship to follow in his flight. The

weather was cool, and every one found cloth clothing comfortable, though the thermometer still ranged above 70° F. The crew, long saddened by scenes of sickness and death, now resumed its wonted cheerfulness, and again the joyous song, the dance and merry fife, which from the time of sailing from Bombay had been silent, were nightly heard upon the forecastle. On a foggy night (August 3rd), we had parted company with the Enterprise, and were now alone; yet, there was "a little warlike world within," which put at defiance the loneliness of the waste of waters. Carpenters, tinkers, and coopers plied their respective trades, and all the routine of ship's duty was carried on with more cheerfulness than it had been for many months.

On Wednesday, the 10th of August, at meridian, we found the latitude to be 32° 24′ north, and the longitude 178° 51′ west. We had passed the 180th degree, and were therefore more than halfway round the world, eastward from Greenwich. In order to make our reckoning of time correspond with that between us and it, the following day was also reckoned, Wednesday the 10th of August; so that each of us may exclaim with the noble Roman, "I have lost a day."

On the morning of the 7th of September, after a tedious and unpleasant passage of forty-nine days, we descried the island of Oahu, one of the Sandwich group. As we drew nearer we found it moun-

tainous, rising about four thousand feet above the level of the sea, barren and forbidding in its aspect. A low coral reef, a mile distant from the shore, surrounds the island, and a white line of foaming breakers, on the southern side, every where meets the eye.

About four o'clock P. M. we doubled Diamond Point, a hill, formerly the crater of an active volcano, marked by gullies, which may have been formed by streams of overflowing lava, and opened the village of Waititi, four miles from Honolulu. Presently a pilot boarded us, and we learned, that the Enterprise, now in sight, had arrived the day before. Our expected arrival had been announced by the schooner Honduras, which, by running as far as forty degrees north, had made the passage from Canton in forty-five days. About sunset we anchored in the outer roads.

The harbour of Honolulu is peculiar. A deep cove or bay is formed between Diamond and Long points, which are fifteen miles apart; but with the exception of a deep hole or basin, the whole space is filled by a plain, or reef of coral, which rises to within a few feet of the surface of the water. Between the abovenamed points is stretched a line of breakers, interrupted by a channel, one hundred and sixty-seven fathoms wide and four and a half deep, which forms the entrance to what is termed the inner harbour.

At daylight the next morning, the anchor was

weighed and the ship was towed into the channel. Long track-ropes were carried to the reef and about two hundred Sandwich islanders, wading knee-deep in the water, upon the field of coral, seized them, and, cheered by their own song and chorus, drew or tracked the ship to the anchorage which is close to the shore. The basin is always smooth, being effectually protected by the coral reef to seaward.

The town, as seen from the ship, presented several comfortable-looking houses, and in the rear, there is a beautifully green valley which throws it into strong relief. The belfry of the seaman's chapel stands conspicuous, and imparts an air of civilization, which one would scarcely expect to meet at a place so recently emerged from barbarism. A small white fort stood upon our left, from which our noisy salutation was returned by an equal number of guns, and on the left was a fish-pond, formed by a wall of stone one or two feet above the surface and enclosing a sheet of water, several acres in extent. An extinct crater, in the rear of the town, familiarly called the Devil's punch-bowl, overlooks the bay, which, by mounting a few pieces of ordnance around its edge, has been converted into a respectable fortress.

Honolulu is not only the capital of the island of Oahu, but being the chief residence of the King, also of the Sandwich Isles, though Hawaii is the largest and most populous; and with the natives

gives name to the group and to their inhabitants. It is irregularly laid out, and from the houses being enclosed by fences of "adobes"—large blocks of sun-dried clay—and the place being almost entirely without trees, its aspect is cheerless. Most of the houses are composed of a sort of thatch, and, in form, closely resemble ricks of sun-burnt hay. They are floored with mats, and, internally have an air of snugness rather than comfort The few dwellings occupied by foreigners, built either of blocks of coral cut near the beach, or of adobes, or wood, are tolerably comfortable; some of them, for elegance and neatness, might be compared with well-appointed cottages. The population of the town is estimated at between six and seven thousand, of which number about two hundred are foreigners, chiefly Americans engaged in trade.

The Hawaiians are an imitative people, and as far as their means allow, ape the costumes of foreigners. Hence life in the streets is as various as it is grotesque. Here we see a group of men, some wearing an ancient cloak, consisting of a square piece of native cloth, either yellow or party-coloured, worn under one arm, generally the right, and the ends knotted on the opposite shoulder; some place it over, instead of under the arm, and many of them possessing fine muscular forms, are perhaps not inaptly compared to the old Romans in their togas, whom we are taught to admire. Others are entirely naked with the exception of a

garment, termed "maro," which, like the "langote" of India, is very small, being merely a string about the loins, to support a fold of native cloth worn perpendicularly between the limbs. Others, again, add to this some single cast garment, as a vest, a coat, pantaloons, or shirt; and with either one, esteem themselves in full dress. The women usually wear a loose slip or gown, and are very fond of stringing flowers into necklaces or fillets for their heads. Some even wear supple twigs full of green leaves. Those who have been improved by the instructions of the missionaries, if they be chiefs, wear silk dresses and straw bonnets; but instead of encumbering their feet with shoes or stockings, display well tataüd ankles.

The Hawaiians of the plebeian classes are of moderate stature; but the chiefs, male and female, are remarkable for their great size and flabby obesity. Their heads are proportionably small behind the ears, possibly owing to a custom of sustaining them, while infants, by resting the back of the head upon the hand, and stroking it upwards, to secure a flattened occiput, which is considered a mark of beauty. Their hands and feet, among the females at least, are of aristocratic smallness. Their faces are rather flat and broad; the lips are full, and the nose spread; but it is without the peculiar flatness which distinguishes this feature in the negro. When in repose, their countenances are grave, but are easily lighted up by smiles, and are, on the whole, agreeable. Their complexion

is olive, and their general appearance resembles that of the Siamese more than any people I have seen; and as, with them, the chiefs are very large: one measured six feet four inches high, with a frame developed in excellent proportion, and was not considered, by the Hawaiians, remarkable for size.

Though few years have elapsed since the introduction of horses, which are now numerous on the principal islands of the group, the Hawaiians have become dexterous horsemen, and have learned to wield the *laso* with a precision only excelled by the gauchos of Buenos Ayres. Both men and women assume the masculine posture when mounted, and are now seen riding through the streets of Honolulu at all times, more particularly on Saturdays, and always at a rapid rate. But none, as yet, aspire to drive wheel carriages for pleasure.

The Hawaiians are now a mild race of people, tolerably docile, and capable of improvement. They are expert at all athletic exercises; and, as swimmers, they are unrivalled. Like their monarch they are disposed to run to excess in all that engages their attention, which, however, is not easily roused. The British Consul told me, that when marbles were first introduced by him, those in his neighbourhood did scarcely any thing else than play with them for two or three months, and the same thing happened with kites. That they are

honest, there can be little doubt, for the foreign residents make very little use of locks and keys. Riding, one day, in the country, I lost a glove, which was brought to me three days afterwards, in the town. They occasionally display humour, and laugh heartily at a joke. The officers of H. B. M. ship Blond, when here, were anxious to procure some of the ancient idols, to carry home as curiosities. The demand soon exhausted the stock on hand: to supply the deficiency, the Hawaiians made idols, and smoked them, to impart to them an appearance of antiquity, and actually succeeded in the deception. A boy who had observed this *penchant* for the curious among the officers, obtained a chicken's foot, and, having smoked it well, carried it to the distinguished virtuoso of the ship, saying, as he worked the toes by pulling at the ends of the tendons, "Wont you buy this? see how curiously it moves;—you have nothing so strange as this."

There are several pleasant rides in the vicinity of Honolulu; Eva, or Pearl River, a beautiful valley; the Salt Lake; the valley of Manoa, and the Pari, or Precipice. The latter is the termination of the fine green valley of Nuanu, the sides of which are almost perpendicular, and highly picturesque, from a mingling of the pale leaves of the *tutui* with the darker foliage of the surrounding vegetation, and occasional rills and cascades, which fall several hundred feet. This valley crosses the island, and terminates abruptly by an almost per-

pendicular precipice, several hundred feet high, celebrated in the wars of Tamèhamèha. From its brink is a fine view of the fertile district of Kolau and the Pacific ocean, chafing itself into foam on the shore, and thence stretching itself away till its blue bosom kisses the sky.

Though the elevation, probably, does not exceed four hundred feet, the climate is very different from that of the plain whereon stands the capital, and is, therefore, a favourite resort for invalids and valetudinarians. In the high ground the air is tempered by almost daily showers, and by the trade wind sweeping freshly, in strong currents, between the hills; while on the plain, seldom visited by rain, it remains pretty constantly dry and warm. During our stay the thermometer ranged from 70° to 90° F., though its average yearly range is stated to be from 70° to 80° F.

The soil is fertile wherever reached by water, and yields yams, taro (*arum esculentum*), potatoes, pumpkins, corn, melons, bananas, grapes, pine-apples, &c. The domestic animals are horses, bullocks, hogs, goats, dogs, &c. Sheep do not thrive, but the beef is excellent. Sugar, coffee, cotton, silk, and salt, may be produced abundantly; and in time will become the great sources of the nation's commercial wealth.

There are no reptiles upon the island, nor, indeed, upon any of the group; except scorpions and centepedes, introduced from the Society

Islands, cockroaches, flies, and mosquitoes,* the insect tribes are few. Birds are not numerous, and the few found here are not remarkable for their plumage. There is one species, which has one or two yellow feathers under each wing, which are much prized for making a sort of tippet, or fillet, for the neck or head.

The waters afford several varieties of excellent fish, and the rocks are inhabited by many very pretty shells. There are several species of land shells, and two or three species lately found in the fresh water streams.†

Besides the active trade of the place, and the continuous change of costume, there are other evidences to the transient visiter, that the people are emerging from barbarism, and advancing towards a state of civilization. A weekly newspaper, entitled the "Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce," in English, was begun on the 30th of July, 1836. An attempt was made to suppress this paper in its infancy, by Kinau, the Governess of Oahu. She put her veto upon its

* The facetious editor of the "Sandwich Island Gazette" informs us that mosquitoes have been recently introduced by a gentleman from New England—*de gustibus*, &c.

† I saw, here, a species of spondylus, nine or ten inches long, and five or six broad, having a semicircular cavity, or chamber, in the lower valve, capable of holding one or two table-spoonfuls, containing water, said to be fresh, which may be seen flowing beneath the transparent nacreous lining. The whalers, by whom the specimens are brought here from the Society Islands, call it the "shoe shell."

publication, and shut up the printing office. The editor applied to the king, then on a visit to one of the windward islands, for his authority to publish it, and received a note from His Hawaiian Majesty, of which the following translation appears u the Sandwich Island Gazette.

"To Stephen D. Mackintosh.

Honolulu, Oahu.

I assent to the letter which you sent to me. It affords me pleasure to see the works of other lands, and things that are new. If I was there, I should very much desire to see. I have said to Kinau, make printing presses. My thought is ended. Love to you and Reynolds.

By King Kauikeaouli."

There is another in the native language, entitled, "Ke Kumu Hawaii," which will be referred to in the sequel.

Three practitioners of medicine, one English, and two American, reside here; there is a seamen's chapel and a reading room, as yet almost without readers; to which may be added, as additional evidence of the march of civilization, billiard-tables, bowling-allies, grog-shops, livery-stables, and *restaurans*, both foreign and native, and they all meet with a sufficient patronage, because the vices are more aptly acquired than the virtues of civilized life.

The grog-shops are licensed, but it is to be regretted that they have not been suppressed in compliance with petitions signed by eighteen masters of whale ships, and two thousand eight hundred native chiefs. These shops are the bane of his subjects as well as of the foreign seamen coming to the islands; the king would consult his own interest and the welfare of his people, by prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors at retail. Many whale ships, rather than incur the risk of difficulties arising from this source, have ceased to visit the port, and now resort to other places for the purpose of refreshing their crews, and the king thus loses an amount of revenue equal to the port charges, &c. of all these vessels.

On several occasions I passed a Hawaiian restaurant's—a straw hovel in which were assembled numerous guests, enjoying themselves after the fashion they admire most, while as many, in the various costumes described above, were gazing wistfully in upon them from the outside. The earth floor was covered by mats. Groups of more than half naked men, squatted in a circle with gourd plates before them, supplied with raw fish and salt water, and by their side was an enormous gourd, of the dimensions of a wash-tub, filled with poë, a sort of paste made of taro. They ate of the raw fish, occasionally sopping the torn animal in the salt water as a sauce, then sucking it, with that peculiar smack which indicates the reception

of a delicious morsel. Next the fore and middle fingers were dipped up to the knuckles in the tub of poë, and by a dextrous twirl made to convey the food to the mouth. At the proper moment the head is thrown back, and the mouth is opened to receive the fingers, which are now sucked clean of their load. Alternating one or two mouthfulls of raw fish with as many of poë, they thus feed until satisfied, for which they pay six and a quarter cents. This charge includes the feeding of the children and dogs of the guest, which must be a considerable drawback upon the profits, if we may judge from the number of children and lank curs mingled among the groups.

Of this revolting feast, in which the face and hands are pretty well smeared, we were invited by a smile and a gesture to partake. Though I had, before witnessing this scene, argued with myself, that eating raw fish was not a more violent practice, than eating raw oysters, the invitation caused me to turn away in disgust. The sight was nauseating. It may do in theory, but in practice the stranger will find such feeding out of the question.

At night the billiard-tables are resorted to by foreigners and natives. At one or the other, one is sure to meet His Hawaiian Majesty King Kauikeaouli, attended by some of his high chiefs. He has recently come out of his minority, a stoutly-limbed young man five feet seven or eight inches

high. His face is flat and broad, and his countenance mild. He is fond of athletic exercises; plays skilfully both at billiards and bowls; rides well, hunts well, and readily joins his lowest subjects in the severest toils. Not long ago a ship was cast away near Diamond point, and the king, in a tarpaulin and sailor's shirt and trousers, assisted actively in saving the cargo. He is of a cold temperament and not easily excited; but whatever he undertakes, he executes with enthusiasm. He is fond of ships, and delights in navigating among the several islands of his dominions.

I had the honour of an introduction to His Majesty on the night of our arrival. We found him bowling for a bottle of wine with several chiefs. He was dressed in white drilling pantaloons, without suspenders, and a white jacket, wearing a neatly plaited parti-coloured straw hat, set knowingly on one side of his head. To measure him by the social code of refined life, his manner of receiving us was frank and unassuming, while it partook something of *mauvaise honte.* He speaks English intelligibly, but prefers his own language, and it is difficult to get him to talk in any other in the presence of more than one or two persons. After the usual salutation, he seized a ball in his left hand and resumed his game with great energy. He wants dignity. The commonest skippers that visit the port, familiarly address him by his name, Kauikeaouli, and do not

hesitate even to put their arms about his neck, which he very good-naturedly submits to, without thinking that it derogates any thing from royalty. I saw him thus solicited to give up bowls for a game at pool, and he led the way to the billiard-room, where he was playing when the clock struck eleven. He threw down his cue at once, though in the middle of the game, and the lights were extinguished in obedience to a curfew law made by himself, to restrain dissipation of this sort.

On the tenth of September, we saw His Majesty under different circumstances. Commodore Kennedy, with many of the officers of the Peacock and Enterprise, paid him an official visit. We were received in a stone or rather coral house, by a chief in a blue military frock coat, who led us to the second story and introduced us into a plainly furnished room. Here we found the king, his sister Naiheanaina, and his two half-sisters, Kinau, the governess of Oahu, and Auhea, commonly spoken of by her cognomen, the big-mouthed queen. The king wore a blue coat with two gold epaulets, white pantaloons and vest; and the ladies were in black silk. They received us standing, but in a few minutes seated themselves on a sofa, in front of which stood the Rev. Mr. Bingham as interpreter. A common-place conversation occurred, and a glass of wine was offered.

These feminine chiefs, all of them of Herculean

form, had an air which may be stiled shabby-genteel, evincing at the same time a desire to comport themselves as became their station; and, considering their opportunities, they succeeded remarkably well. At the expiration of twenty minutes we took leave, followed by a number of foreign residents, who had accompanied us.'

Kauikeaouli is a son of the famous Tamèhamèha, and brother of the late King Riho'riho. He is genteelly dissipated, but not vicious. Though capable of reading both English and Spanish, his general knowledge is very limited; his reading, like that of most of his subjects, being merely a mechanical operation. He has probably read very little besides his school books. He was educated under the surveillance of the missionaries, but at the same time was influenced by the advice and example of evil-minded strangers, who delighted to thwart the efforts of his pious tutors; and we must not therefore be surprised, that he is not so well educated as he might have been under different circumstances.

A few days after this interview, the Princess Naiheanaina, gave birth to a son, and, in consequence of imprudently indulging in a cold bath, became dangerously ill, and her medical attendant, Mr. Rook, desired me to see her with him. The child lived but a few hours. The public expressed a doubt whether her husband, or her brother, the king, were the father; but in either

case the child would have been heir to the throne. It must be borne in mind, that very few years have elapsed since incestuous connexions among the nobles were not considered criminal, because they were common, and even legal; and that Kauikeaouli and Naiheanaina were affianced when young, according to the ancient custom of the nation.

On reaching the gate of the enclosure in which stood the dwelling of the princess, we were obliged to wait until announced, before the sentry would open it. The house, which was a very large one, had several small ones in the vicinity for the accommodation of her household. Beneath a thatched shed at one side of it, were lounging twenty or thirty men and women on newly cut grass. One of these came forward and took our horses. We entered a large apartment, the floor of which was covered with mats, and the thatched roof was lined with the same. The posts and rafters were bare, showing the sinnate lashings which held them together. Two female chiefs were seated near a small table covered with red cloth, in the middle of the room, listlessly fanning themselves and smoking short pipes. Small gourds, with a few blades of fresh grass in the bottom of each, were on the table, and were used as spittoons.

The king, attired in a short blue military jacket, white pantaloons, and cloth cap of naval pattern,

received us, and at once led the way to the apartment of his sister. It was separated from the other by a chintz screen. We found the princess lying upon a soft mattress, which rested on a pile of fine mats, eighteen inches high, and about twelve feet square. A quantity of white tapa cloth, covered her royal person. Around her were reclining several females gently fanning her with kahiris,* assisted by her husband, the young chief Lelehoku, a son of Karaimoku, celebrated as the Wm. Pitt of Hawaii. Several fat chiefs, weighing not less than eighteen stone each, in shirt and pantaloons, were stretched upon the floor, solacing themselves either with pipes or poë. The countenances of Kauikeaouli and Lelehoku betokened a tender solicitude for the princess who was suffering pain.

On a second visit a few days afterwards, we found a change in the decoration of the apartment. Green boughs were suspended from the ceiling to within three or four feet of the bed, and a pink satin counterpane, bordered with black velvet, hung by a cord from its centre so as to fall over the bed in loose folds, somewhat like a tent. The

* The kahiri is a slight staff about three feet long, having feathers, black, yellow, or red, attached to it for about two-thirds of its length, while the other is covered by numerous rings of polished tortoise shell, so neatly joined as to appear a solid casing. The handle is of ivory (whale's tooth), and highly polished. Kahiris were much used as badges of office; and for that purpose made of large size, and borne in procession before the chiefs upon occasions of ceremony.

chamber was fragrant with the fresh boughs and flowers, and, altogether, might be compared to a grateful shade beneath some wide branching tree.

After expressing our opinion of the case, various subjects were talked of, and amongst them that of phrenology. The king, who had been told of the unwillingness of the Siamese princess to permit any one to lay hands upon their heads, said that a similar custom had prevailed in the Sandwich Islands; and the prejudice was so strong that the roof of a house in which a king resided never could be repaired in case of necessity, because the workmen would be obliged to mount above the king's head. If the roof leaked, the house was deserted, or torn down and built anew upon another site.

One of the big chiefs offered me, in a spoon, some höe—a paste prepared from yams, in the same manner as pöe from the taro—which he took from a small calabash, into which he had been dipping his fingers. On tasting it, I remarked that it wanted salt. He then presented a saucer of tutui nut mingled with salt, which, added to the höe, rendered it more palatable. I told him it was very good. "Ah," said he, smiling, "if you were to reside with us for a time, you would become civilized, and learn to appreciate what is good."

On taking leave, the princess declared that our visit had been of much service, because our con-

versation had served to divert her thoughts from her uncomfortable situation. Before our departure, on both occasions, wine was offered at a table in the apartment.*

The king accompanied us to the door, and cordially invited us to call whenever we could make it convenient. As we passed, we had leisure to observe the sentry at the gate, and seldom have we seen so perfect a personification of laziness. His musket stood against the wall on one side of the gate, while he rested his person against it on the other, with folded arms and half-closed eyes. This warrior was completely attired in a white shirt and a straw helmet, the rest of the Windsor uniform, in which the king's troops were wont to parade, according to Mr. Stewart, having yielded to the devouring effects of time, or, perhaps, they were in reserve for gala occasions.

* I am informed by Mr. J. K. Townsend, recently returned from the islands, that the Princess fell a victim to her own imprudence in a similar illness, on the 5th of January, 1837. The Hawaiians recognise two deaths, one of the mind, or soul, and the other of the body; therefore, the tomb of Naiheanaina informs us that her death took place on the 30th of December, 1836, the day upon which she became delirious. On this occasion, the multitude, in token of their sorrow, knocked out their own front teeth; some only one, some more, in accordance with the ancient manners of the island. The operation is performed by driving a wooden wedge between the front teeth with a stone, while the patient lies stretched upon the ground.

Mr. Townsend intends to give the public the notes of his travels and adventures across the Rocky Mountains, in California, the Society and Sandwich Islands, &c.

An opportunity of seeing and tasting food *à la Hawaii* was afforded us on the 20th of September, by an invitation to a Luäu, or feast, prepared by native cooks, given by the foreign residents to Commodore Kennedy and the officers of the squadron. At three o'clock P. M. I found the company assembled at Makiki, about a mile from Honolulu, in front of a large house of dry thatch, *à la Oahu*. Fresh cut grass was strewed about where the guests were promenading away the "interminable half hour before dinner." A little beyond were the horses of the company, held by their servants, among which were mingled numbers of idle spectators. In a few moments after my arrival dinner was announced, and we penetrated the haystack-shaped edifice. Two long tables, loaded with various viands, stretched along its whole length on each side. The floor was of mats, and the walls, and beams, and posts were garlanded and bedecked with green boughs and flowers. The British consul, assisted by the American acting vice-consul, presided. The number of guests, including the king, several of his chiefs, many of the most respectable foreign residents, and a Tom-Dick-and-Harry company, might have been seventy-five, all shuffled together at the tables, without observing the least ceremony in regard to rank or place.

The tables and benches were built up for the occasion on the spot, and by some oversight the

benches were so weak that several of the guests were nearly overturned. Both were covered with fine white tapa-cloth—made by beating the macerated bark of a mulberry tree—and in a *fête champetre* answered very well the place of a more costly material.

The feast consisted of dogs, poultry, pigs, &c., luäued; that is, after being carefully wrapped in leaves of the *ti* plant, cooked by being buried amidst stones heated for the purpose. They were then served up with boiled taro tops, which are a good substitute for spinache. Meats cooked after this manner, have a slight taste of the *ti* plant, and are very savoury. This mode of cooking fish—the mullet particularly, is preferable to any other that I have seen. The Hawaiians take great pains to have fine fish. They take them when small, and convey them from the sea to a pond of salt water, where they are fed for several months; thence they are carried into brackish water, and finally introduced into fresh ponds, where they are carefully tended.

Near my place at table was a fine young dog luäued, the flesh of which was declared to be excellent by all who partook of it. To my palate, its taste was what I can imagine would result from mingling the flavour of pig and lamb, and I did not hesitate to make my dinner of it, in spite of some qualms at the first mouthful. I must confess, when I reflected that the puppy now trussed up

before us might have been the affectionate, and frolicksome companion of some Hawaiian fair—they all have pet pigs or puppies—I felt as if dog-eating were only a low grade of cannibalism. What! eat Poor Ponto?—

> "———the poor dog, in life the firmest friend,
> The first to welcome, foremost to defend,
> Whose honest heart is still his master's own,
> Who labours, fights, lives, breathes for him alone,
> Unbonoured falls, unnoticed all his worth,
> Denied in heaven the soul he held on earth—"

However, the edible dog is not one of your common curs, but a dainty animal, fed exclusively on vegetables, chiefly taro in the form of pöe, and at the age of two years, is considered a dish wherewith to regale royalty. Indeed, Kauikeaouli, I suspect, would be always well satisfied to see it before him, in spite of the assertion of Dr. Kidd, that "it is worthy of consideration that the flesh of those animals of whose living services we stand hourly in need, as the *horse* and the *dog*, are so unpalatable, that we are not tempted to eat them unless in cases of dreadful necessity."* Has the doctor ever assisted at a luaü, or associated with the trappers upon the prairies of the "far west?"

The feast won through its phases; toasts and healths were drunk, and about eight o'clock P. M.,

* "On the Adaptation of external Nature to the Physical Condition of Man."—*Bridgewater Treatise.*

the field was left in possession of some of my Tom-Dick-and-Harry platter companions, who had gradually imbibed an unusual degree of self-esteem, and were now kicking up their heels to the notes of a gigging fiddle and a crack-voiced clarionet, like so many "jolly tars capering ashore."

We were complimented by this mark of attention from the residents, many of whom must have done violence to their own feelings in being present.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SKETCHES IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

October, 1836.

Since the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, and the publication of "Stewart's Residence," the Hawaiian Islands have attracted a large share of public attention. Various accounts have been given to the world, but they have all been *ex parte* statements. The friends of the missionaries have drawn overwrought pictures of the prosperity and prospects of the islands; while, on the other hand, their opponents charge them with the tardy advancement of the islanders in social and civil knowledge. Both parties have based their reports on partial facts, and coloured them to suit their own views, without that strict observance of full accuracy which is desirable.

In 1831, a former missionary, Mr. Stewart, published an account of a visit to the islands by the U. S. ship Vincennes, which seems to be rather a work of the imagination than a faithful description:

All who are acquainted with the author fully acquit him of any intention to deceive, and attribute the unfaithful, though agreeable picture, which his work leaves upon the mind of the reader, to a happy facility of writing and perceiving beauties in commonplace things, for which he is distinguished. Though we are all ready to accord our praise to the pleasing fictions of a novelist, we expect rigid accuracy from the pen of a divine, and are not disposed to allow him to envelop facts in the glowing language of a poetic fancy. Mr. Stewart talks of fashionable drives; of Windsor uniforms; of the advance of civilization, of the successful efforts of the missionaries, and defends his friend, Mr. Bingham, from an attack made upon him by Captain Kotzebue, in his "New Voyage round the world." The missionaries are now sensibly feeling the injurious effects of the overpraise of this pleasant work. The "Visit to the South Seas" was followed by the "Cruise of Potomac, by J. N. Reynolds," which is charged with various trifling inaccuracies of description, and sweeping censure of the missionaries, as well as of the foreign residents of Honolulu. Mr. Warriner's account of the same cruise has passed almost unnoticed.

Whether I shall be successful in conveying a clear and correct idea to the reader of the state of these islands I cannot decide; but I feel an honesty of purpose in making the attempt, and will not desist in the middle of the operation in pity for the

cries of the patient. The pain necessarily inflicted, in bringing to light the latent disease of the system, is often requisite to its removal, without which we cannot hope to secure a robust and flourishing state of health.

From the time of their arrival, the missionaries have pursued one course and one policy, the propriety and expediency of which have been much questioned. Their plan was to impart to the islanders a knowledge of the doctrines of their own sect, which the islanders were, in a measure, prepared to receive, because they had, of themselves, thrown down the gods, and abandoned the religion of their fathers in 1819. With this view primary schools were established, at which adults and children, of every age and sex, almost constantly attended. They were taught to write, to sing religious songs, and read tracts and portions of Scripture as fast as translated. The number of the schools rapidly increased, and children were more attended to; and within about two years a high school has been established, from which I have seen an atlas engraved on copper, of a very respectable character. During the first ten years of the mission, religious instruction alone was given; but since that period, arithmetic, geography, and some other branches have been added to the studies. Not less than one-fifth of the time is now occupied in the study and practice of "sacred harmony." Indeed, the whole system of instruction is so en-

tirely religious in its nature, and so exclusively appropriated to the performance of Calvinistic worship, that, thus far, it has proved of less social advantage to the nation than might have been expected.

To the missionaries is due the credit of reducing the language to writing, and of translating both the Old and New Testaments, twenty thousand copies of which are now in circulation, making one copy for every *five individuals* of the population. A gazette, neatly printed at the mission press, is published under the title of "Ke Kumu Hawaii," —the Monitor or Teacher. Four thousand copies are circulated, each receiver paying something, though there is no stated subscription price. Its pages are filled with extracts from the Scriptures, scraps of natural history, &c., well calculated to interest those for whom it is intended.

The following report of schools in 1835, is found in one of the numbers:

HONOLULU, 1835.

Teachers,		45	
Pupils.	Adult male,	194	
	" female,	404	
	Male children,	55	
	Female do.	27	
			680
Number of readers,		680	
"	Arithmetic,	448	
"	Writing,	405	
"	Primer,	258	
Total number of pupils,			680

At present the mission consists of fifty-eight individuals, exclusive of children. The missionaries are placed in a position entirely above the every-day concerns of this world, and have only to declare their wants to a fiscal agent of the Board of Missions to have them supplied. In this respect they are entirely independent, and could not be more so, had they fortunes at command. This arrangement is defective, because it abstracts them too much from the world. Would it not be more politic to pay them stated salaries, and thus impose upon them the care of providing for themselves? The expense of the mission might be thus increased, but its object would be better answered; because the missionaries, by dealing with the world, would feel more sensibly the interests of the social community in which they are placed, and meet with frequent opportunities of correcting evils which must now pass unnoticed. I would not give them salaries so large that the business of a misssionary should become a profitable profession; but their stipend should be sufficient to enable them to possess a small surplus at the end of the year, to be appropriated to the education of their children, instead of turning them, in infancy almost, as must often be the case under the present system, beggars upon the world, dependent upon its charities.

Those who know the arduous life of the missionary, the perils to which he is often exposed,

subjected frequently to scornful vituperation and misrepresentation, will not deny him a trifling reward, which may enable him to fulfil his duty towards his little ones. The missionary should not be required to emulate his fellow-labourers in constancy in sustaining privations; rather let him feel gratified with displaying the greatest comfort or even luxury if you will, with the most moderate means, and thus become an example to the society wherein he is "the observed of all observers," teaching one of the social advantages of the religion he labours to inculcate. "Cosa Apostolica es misionar," says one of the fathers of the Roman church—"Cosa Apostolica es misionar, recibiendo el sustento mendigando; mas tambien lo es misionar, proveyendose à si, y à los suyos con el trabajo de sus proprias manos, sin mendigar."*

Under the present system, from conscientious motives, many missionaries, particularly valetudinarian females, live in want of articles absolutely necessary to their comfort, rather than apply for them. The houses of these people present only those appliances which are common in the houses of the industrious day-labourer; and in many instances their food is of the poorest kind.

The missionaries inhibit their children from ac-

* "To serve as a missionary, depending upon alms for sustenance is an apostolic thing; but it is likewise an apostolic thing for one to serve as a missionary, providing for himself and those depending upon him by the labour of his own hands, without begging alms.

El Padre Miguel Venegas."

quiring the Hawaiian language, because, it is asserted, they can acquire no useful ideas from the natives while they would be exposed to the injurious effects of constantly hearing grossness of expression. As yet I have heard of no missionary's children acting as assistant teachers in the schools. At an early age they are sent to the United States for education; but none have ever returned.

The labours of the missionaries consist exclusively in preaching the gospel, and teaching schools. They are distributed at fifteen stations, as follows: three on the island of Kauai; four on Oahu; one on Molokai: three on Maui, and four on Hawaii. The mission consists at present of twenty-eight men and thirty women from the United States. Their maintenance is estimated at five hundred dollars annually for each family, or 15,000 dollars in the aggregate. Besides this, the buildings, the printing, medical and school departments, cost an additional sum of about 16,000 dollars. To this may be added about 4,000 dollars annually, for the support of the high school at Lahainaluna: so that the entire annual expense of the Sandwich Island mission will not be less than 35,000 dollars.

At the head of the schools is that at Lahainaluna, of which a very graphic description, by its principal, the Rev. Lorrin Andrews, may be found in the appendix of the "Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

Missions. (Boston, 1835.) Mr. Andrews appears to be a man of unquestionable and untiring benevolence, and possessed of practical good sense. He has discovered that, in general, the art of reading and writing was among the islanders merely mechanical, and that they have not yet learned to look upon it, only as a means of acquiring knowledge. He has recognised the great principle, that men must doubt and think for themselves before they can become learned; and acts upon it, as may be seen in the report above referred to.

This high school was first formed under a shed, and afterwards taught by Mr. Andrews beneath the canopy of heaven, unsheltered from the blazing rays of a tropical sun for some time, while the school-house was yet incomplete. It was began in 1831, but the foundation of the school was not securely laid before 1834.

The high school of Lahainaluna is on the island of Maui, and contained, in 1835, one hundred and twenty-three pupils. Three missionaries are employed as teachers, one as a printer to the establishment, besides an artisan (not a missionary), who receives a salary as superintendent of the manual labour department. Free inquiry is encouraged among the pupils. The branches of education at present attended to, are arithmetic, mental and written, geometry, trigonometry, modern and ancient geography, Scripture chronology, and church history. Some of the people attend

to composition, grammar, engraving on copper, and other useful arts.

At the station schools, taught by the ladies and gentlemen of the mission, there are two thousand one hundred and thirty-five pupils; of which number, five hundred and thirty-five, more than one-fourth, are adults. They receive instruction in the first principles of morality and religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, natural history, and psalmody. For those who are learning to sing, a small work of three hundred and sixty pages, containing a gamut, hymns, and tunes, has been recently published.

The missionaries instruct six thousand eight hundred and forty Sabbath school pupils. In these, Scripture history, and Christian doctrines and duties are carefully inculcated, and in a more familiar manner than can be done by ordinary preaching. Most of the missionaries attend individually to three schools, and some of them meet Bible classes on a week day.

In every district of the Sandwich Islands, both adults and minors, in great numbers, receive instruction by the aid of native teachers, in reading, writing, and the first principles of religion, as expressed in catechisms, tracts, &c. Mr. Bingham, to whom I am indebted for most of my information in relation to the mission, tells me, that the adults do not probably spend more than four hours a week under the eye of their teachers.

Those of the native teachers, who are diligent and faithful, receive a trifling compensation from the mission; but their support is mainly derived from the chiefs or headmen.

The adults, generally, who attend school, are not expected to do less in their respective avocations on this account. The primary object of the adult schools taught by natives, is to render the missionary publications, particularly the Scriptures, available to them, by imparting to them the art of reading. Mr. Bingham estimates, that twenty or twenty-five thousand, or about one-fifth of the whole population, give some attention to schools.

Where missionaries preach, an aggregate of from fifteen to twenty thousand Hawaiians attend regularly. The largest congregation is at Honolulu, where the average attendance is about two thousand. Since 1825, the number admitted into the church, is one thousand and seventy-eight, of which two hundred and sixty-six belong to Honolulu.

Collateral with the instruction communicated by the above system, the missionaries have endeavoured to encourage the people in acquiring some of the mechanic arts; as those of the carpenter, mason, turner, tailor, braider of hats, &c. A few have been taught to spin, knit, and weave.

The printing establishment of the mission is well conducted. The whole business of printing, composing, pressing, folding, binding, is per-

formed by natives. The number generally employed is thirty. The nature and extent of their publications may be found in the twenty-sixth annual report already referred to. The mechanical execution of those works which I saw here, is equal to what is termed "common work," in the United States.

There is also at Honolulu, a charity school for the instruction of half-caste children, supported by donations from foreign residents. I visited it, and one of the mission schools, and I am sorry to say I was disappointed; not that there was any unusual deficiency on the part of the teachers or pupils; but, because I had formed an over estimate of them from reading various reports of their condition. They are probably equal to the commonest primary schools in the United States.

I have thought these details will be interesting to those benevolent individuals in our country, who contribute 35,000 dollars annually, for the purpose of diffusing general and Christian knowledge to the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and perhaps all may be satisfied, that every effort is made to disburse this money in the most advantageous manner for attaining the objects of the missionary society and its friends. But, with proper deference to older and wiser heads, I believe a strict investigation would show, that the same means might be made to achieve greater ends—I mean in temporal affairs; for the government of

the island is, in all respects, the same that it was the day on which the missionaries landed.

Exclusive of Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Jews, the number of religious ministers or preachers in the United States, is stated, in a volume entitled "Protestant Jesuitism," at 12,670 of various sects. Let us estimate the ministers of all denominations at 14,000, in the United States, and the population at 14,000,000, and we have one teacher of religion for every 14,000 of our population; while in the Sandwich Islands, there are twenty-eight preachers, in a population of 108,393, or one to each number of 3,871 individuals, including infants. Yet the missionaries have made requisition for thirteen more, besides twenty-one lay teachers, and two physicians; which, on the most moderate estimate, will add 10,000 dollars to the annual expense.

If forty of these sixty-four teachers of religious doctrine and elementary education were skilful mechanics, and agriculturists, possessed of good hard sense, a moderate capital, and the generous benevolence of the missionary, they would do more in ten years, towards ameliorating the condition of the islanders, by teaching their several arts, by their moral deportment, and the example of the thrift which must crown their industry, than an army of twenty thousand preachers, devoted exclusively to religious pursuits, could possibly effect in double the time. It is questionable whe-

ther the doctrine of Christianity alone is capable of leading a barbarous people to a condition which we might call civilization. The Hawaiians, as a nation, may be said to be Christianized, but those who have visited the islands will hardly assert they are also civilized; and I doubt whether they ever will be under the present system. The rapidity of their civilization depends upon their improvement, in agriculture, the mechanic arts, and in political government, which will furnish in abundance the sources of commerce, the great civilizer of mankind; and when religion is added to chasten all, the condition of the people will be such as to enable them to enjoy the greatest possible happiness in this world, while it promises no less in that which is to come.

Those who are interested in the Sandwich Island mission, have heard, that some Roman Catholic Christians attempted to establish a mission of their sect at the islands, and were expelled, as has been asserted, by the advice of those missionaries already there, which charge they pronounce to be untrue. I would let this question sleep, did I not feel that the public, and the friends of foreign missions who pay for their support have a right to know the history of the matter, drawn from the most authentic sources on the spot.

Three missionaries, Mr. Batchelot, from France, Mr. Short, from Ireland, and Mr. Murphy, from

the isle of France, arrived at Oahu, with the purpose of establishing a Roman Catholic mission; and while they remained, they laboured to this end, and gained numerous followers. The chiefs observed that their forms of worship differed from those of the Calvinistic Christians already settled there, and applied to them to know who were of the true religion. As a matter of course, they were informed the Calvinists were the true worshippers. "Then," said the chiefs, "these new comers must go away, because we do not want two religions, and we are satisfied with our old teachers." "About this time," says a leading member of the mission, in a letter to me, replying to several questions in relation to the mission, "About this time the people were reminded of the sanguinary character of the power that had attempted to exterminate Protestants by the bayonet, the inquisition and fire," and it was thus insinuated, that the course of the Roman Catholics, should they remain, would be likely to be marked by blood. But applications of this nature were made by "several English gentlemen;" whether these were interested in the Protestant mission is not stated. "A few historical facts, such as are alluded to in a letter, addressed by Dr. Jones King, of Greece, to his friends in Palestine, as reasons why he could not be a Roman Catholic, were not very favourable recommendations of the true sons of Rome, as propagators of *the bene-*

volent and pacific gospel of grace." This letter, which, to use the expression of one of the mission, arrived at Oahu, "just in the nick of time," was speedily translated, printed, and circulated amongst the chiefs and people.

Under the excitement thus produced upon their fallow minds, the chiefs imperatively ordered the Roman Catholics to leave the islands. They replied, that they were ready to go, but the means of departure were not at hand. Under these circumstances, the chiefs fitted out a vessel, put the three obnoxious missionaries on board, and ordered the commander to land them at the nearest Roman Catholic port. This was San Pedro, on the coast of California, a miserable waste of sand, many leagues distant from any considerable population. During the voyage, they were so well treated by the captain, that they preferred no complaint against him.

Several of their converts were seized and imprisoned in the fort, "not for opinion's sake, but because when ordered to cease worshipping according to the precepts of the Roman church, they refused to obey, and were therefore punished for insubordination and disrespect to their chiefs." Such was the explanation offered, when the Protestant missionaries declared, that it was improper to punish or persecute men on account of the religious opinion they might entertain.

The above is the substance of the history of

the expulsion of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Were the Protestants instrumental in their expulsion? The missionaries positively declare, that they never devised it directly, nor had any direct agency in it. But a leading member of the mission told me, he had no doubt, but the answers which he gave to questions on the subject by the chiefs, had very considerable influence upon their determination. From all the information I was able to collect upon this subject, it is clear to my mind, that the missionaries embraced every opportunity to state the cruelties of the religious wars of by-gone days, and present the Roman Catholics in the hideous aspect in which they themselves view them, and, carefully abstaining from a declaration of what must have been their secret wishes, pursued the *laisser aller* system of policy, which finally resulted in the expulsion of the Catholics.

The Protestants, not only those connected with this mission nearly or remotely, but also many in the United States, and Europe, regard all those of the Roman faith with feelings of reproach, or, at best with a sort of contemptuous pity. On one occasion at Oahu, hearing a lady express herself of the Catholics in terms of horror, I asked, "How do you know, madam, that you are not speaking in the presence of a Roman Catholic?"

"Oh! I am sure I am not; for no sensible man can be a Roman Catholic?"

In addition to this instance of prejudice, I beg

to quote the following passages from the letter already referred to.

"They (the Catholics) were regarded by the people as French worshippers of images, and servants of the Pope of Rome, and not propagators of the true gospel." Whence did the islanders, who derive their religious information entirely from the missionaries, obtain such a notion, if not from their Protestant teachers? Whence could they learn any thing of France, or Frenchmen, of Rome, of her Pontiff, places and people, they never before had occasion to hear of, except from the same source?

"We could not condemn the rulers for exercising a natural and just right, in excluding unwelcome strangers, where they had reason to suspect their pursuits would prove a national calamity. Nor could we honestly recommend the introduction of Romanism, or any other system which *authorizes* and *requires* punishment to be inflicted by the civil power on subjects for any religious opinions they may hold, and which those in power claim the right to pronounce heresy."

I should be glad to be informed where such a system exists. Do the Romanists in France, in Great Britain, in Spain, or Mexico, or in any one of the Roman Catholic countries of South America, "authorize and require" of their "respective governments," punishment to be inflicted by the

civil power on the subjects for any religious opinions they may hold?

"We cannot, of course, invite or welcome any who teach intolerance and persecution as a *sine qua non* to salvation; nor any who are *sworn* to aim at the subversion of every power that does not bow to Rome." Is it not melancholy that a teacher of the enlightened truths of Christianity should believe such an assertion to be true, even after making it himself? This short sentence demonstrates how very far behind the knowledge and spirit of the age the gentleman is, and shows his unfitness, on this account, to be a leader in the councils of people just emerging from barbarism.

"But we hold the rights of conscience inviolable as Protestants, and as believers in the completeness and sufficiency of the Bible as our guide. On this rock we take our stand, believing it to be immoveable. Let the people be well taught to *read* and *love* and *obey* the Bible, then all is well, all is safe. The Lion of Romanism would then eat straw like the ox, and no longer want for prey, or find delight in blood. Let the Bible be every where known and followed, and it is of little consequence who publishes it!"

Thus speaks a distinguished leader of the mission, who denies having interfered or told the chiefs to expel the Catholics! I am convinced, that the missionaries were the cause of the expul-

sion of the three Roman Catholics named; and I think, that few persons who have followed me thus far, can fail to arrive at a similar conclusion. Yet at the moment of finding them guilty of this charge, I believe they pursued a wise and justifiable policy, because the introduction of various religious sects might have induced the islanders, not much skilled in polemics, to reject Christianity altogether.*

After comparing the state of the islands, as it was twenty years ago, with their present condition, it will be generally acknowledged that the missionaries have exercised a very beneficial influence upon the Hawaiians. They may now be called a Christian nation. There is, however, I am told, one chief on the island of Oahu, who still adheres to the idols and worship of former times. The faults of the missionaries are those of omission, and not of commission. They have Christianized without civilizing the natives. In fear of popular opinion, they stood aloof, and have allowed the rulers to continue as ignorant of the art of government as they were on the day of their arrival. They overlook the fact, that the Bible neither teaches political economy nor agriculture. Nor have they ever considered any question in regard to its expediency; governed, perhaps, under the

* A letter, dated 5th of May, 1837, informs me, that the same Catholic missionaries were again at Honolulu, but under orders from the chiefs to depart.

erroneous idea, that their calling required them to forbear all interference that did not tend to religious teaching; or, they may have stood aloof under the fear of being accused of ambition to secure to themselves political importance and influence in the nation. But I never could suspect them of designs of this nature.

I regret to speak of the missionaries in any other than terms of most unqualified respect and praise; and if my remarks fall harshly, I have the consolation of feeling, they are uttered with no purpose of wounding, but because I believe them to be true, and because I believe the truth being told, may have a bearing upon the prospective good of the islands.

The missionaries stationed at the Sandwich Islands as a class, are inferior to all those whom it has been our fortune to meet at other stations during the cruise. Many of them are far behind the age in which they live, deficient in general knowledge, and I think I can trace in them more of the lineaments of the Mucklewraths and Poundtexts of by-gone days, than is desirable in divines of the nineteenth century. Belonging to a sect, many of whose members, by some unusual combination of circumstances, have been made to reflect and consequently change their manner of life suddenly, they have quitted their workshops to expound the Scriptures; fancying all to be as bad as they them-

selves were previously to conversion, they go zealously to the work, and, feeling the deep importance of their subject, deal damnation and destruction, in a peculiar slang, to all whose opinions and course of life differ from their own. This is no sketch of fancy; and we can only lament, there is no power to shield the pulpit from the vulgar spoutings of unlettered ignorance. It is heard in the United States, and I have no doubt but the "Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" sends abroad the best they have at command. In some rare instances, we find combined in the person of the missionary polished manners, knowledge of the world, unimpeachable piety, and a mind firm in solid learning, and graced by various acquisitions of elegant literature. But it unfortunately happens that such men have generally held the subordinate and least distinguished places in the missions, doomed to be ruled by the majority, and to labour in the detail of systems which their intelligence will not approve. I might mention such a one, but I must not individualize.

However useful *strong* preachers may be in producing strong effects upon vulgar minds, they are certainly not better adapted than those of refined and elegant scholarship, to teach an ignorant people the complicated science of social government.

Mr. Reynolds, in the "Voyage of the Potomac," has given a hymn in the Hawaiian language, with

an English version, which he states to be a translation of the celebrated missionary hymn by Bishop Heber. Since the publication of Mr. Reynolds's work, the hymn has been printed at the mission press, as follows:

HAWAIIAN MISSIONARY HYMN.

AN IMITATION OF BISHOP HEBER.

Aloha ko na mauna,	Compassion for the people,
I paa mau i ka hau,	Of mountains bound with frost,
A me ko Aitiopa,	The tribes of Ethiopia,
Ko Inia me Makao,	India and China's coast,
Na muliwai kahiko,	And those of ancient rivers,
Na moku, na papu;	And all the isles and plains,
Kii mai ko laila pio,	Whose captives seek our succour,
I ola no lakou.	To free them from their chains.
Auwe na lahuiaina	Alas, for the vast regions,
O na akua e!	Which strange gods still retain!
Ka *make* o na aina	The *ruin* of the nations
I kulou i ke kii!	That bow to idols vain!
Ko Aferika *pouli!*	For Africa's deep *darkness!*
Ko Asia *naaupo!*	And Asia's *moral gloom!*
Ko Mahomeda *pule!*	The *worship* of Mohammed!
Ko Roma *hewa hou!*	The dire *relapse* of Rome!
Pehea la ke hoole	How then, shall we, enlightened,
Kakou i aoia mai	Ungratefully deny,
I kanaka pouli,	To men who are benighted,
Ia lama e ola'i?—	The torch of Life's blessed ray?—
KE OLA! O KE OLA!	SALVATION! O SALVATION!
Hoolaha ae kakou,	We'll publish all abroad,
I lohe i ka Mesia,	That hearing of Messiah,
A e huli ko ke ao.	The world may turn to God.

E lawe e na makani,	Far, bear ye winds the story
I kana olelo mau;	Of His Eternal truth;
I uhi kona nani	That soon Jehovah's glory
I ka honua a pau—	May cover all the earth—
E hoi hou mai ka Alana,	Return, our great Oblation,
I make no makou,	That once for us, was slain,
Ka Moi ola mana,	The risen, mighty Sovereign,
Ke Lii pomaikai mau.	For ever blest, to reign.

The insertion of the above hymn will serve as a specimen of the language, and at the same time, disprove the charge of plagiarism indirectly alleged against the missionaries in the faulty version published in the work referred to.

The views of the missionaries and foreign residents at Honolulu, on subjects of worldly interest, are very much at variance; and there are several of the latter (whose opinions, however, are worthy of no respect) who speak in the most reproachful terms of these Christian teachers. Yet, in spite of all the complaints against them, the missionaries should be cherished, because they aim at the well being of the islands, both temporally and eternally, and if they draw the restrictive cord too tight, it is not through malicious intent.

The trading community, in the past few years, has increased rapidly, both in number and respectability; and, for its extent, contains comparatively few disreputable people. We had every reason to be gratified by the hospitality and kindness extended us while here by all parties, and did not leave without regret.

CHAPTER XIX.

SKETCHES IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

October, 1836.

THE islands, named in honour of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich, by their discoverer, Captain Cook, stretch in a north-westerly and south-easterly direction, and lie between 18° 50′ and 22° 20′ of north latitude, and between 154° 53′ and 160° 16′ longitude west from Greenwich. Though first revealed to the Christian world by Captain Cook, in 1778, it is more than probable they were known to the Spaniards, who traversed the Pacific, between the Philippines and Acapulco, long before that period; and we are told that a Spaniard, Juan Gaytan, visited them in the year 1600, and named them Islas de la Mesa; he describes them as situated in about the twentieth degree of north latitude, and about one thousand leagues west of the meridian of San Blas;* and if

* Noticias de la provincia de Californias, entres cartas de un Sacer-

we bear in mind the imperfect state of navigation at that period, we must conclude the "Islas de la Mesa" and the Sandwich Islands to be one and the same. Besides, the islanders have a tradition of vessels having been wrecked upon their shores, previously to the arrival of Captain Cook, and from the description they give of the costume, and other particulars relating to the strangers thus thrown among them, they could have been no other than Europeans. Nor is it probable that ships should sail directly in their tract, for two hundred years, without falling in with them. It is pretty satisfactorily ascertained, that Japanese junks were more than once stranded, not only upon the Sandwich Islands, but also on the coast of California; and we have one very recent instance in the case of the Japanese at present residing with the Rev. Mr. Gutzlaff, at Macao. Have these facts any bearing upon the very interesting question of the origin of the aboriginal inhabitants of the islands, and of America?

The islands are ten in number, and are larger than the Society, or any other group of islands in the Pacific Ocean. They are all unquestionably of volcanic origin. The island of Hawaii contains

dote Religioso, Hijo del convento de Predicadores de Valencia, à un Amigo Suyo—Valencia, 1794.

The ancient Spanish charts describe islands in the same latitude, but different longitude, which are called Ulloa, Desgraciada, Mira, and Monge. See Establecimiento Ultramarinos.

the largest active crater in the world; the circumference of which, according to the estimate of Mr. Ellis (Polynesian Researches), is not less than six miles. The highest points on Hawaii, as recently determined by Mr. Daniel Douglas (who was lately killed by falling into a bullock pit), are Mouna Kea and Mouna Roa; the former is 13,764, and the latter 13,430 feet above the level of the sea. Though earthquakes are here common, they are very rarely severe.

Of the ten islands, seven are inhabited. In 1836, their population was as follows:—

Howaii,	39,193
Oahu,	27,798
Maui,	24,195
Kauai, or Atui,	9,927
Molokai,	6,000
Lanai,	1,200
Kahoolawe,	80
Total population of Sandwich Isles in 1836	108,393
Total population in 1832	129,814
Decrease in 4 years,	21,421

The relative number of births and deaths may be estimated from the following statements, copied from the pages of the "Ke Kumu Hawaii."

In the province, or district, of Wailua (Oahu) the deaths for the year ending July, 1835, were 136, and the births 45. The population of this district was,

In 1831	2640
In 1835	2415
Decrease in 4 years	225

The marriages in this district, according to the Christian form, in 1834, were 29; and in the whole group of islands 1125. In 1835, the missionaries, at all the stations collectively, solemnized 1390 marriages. These are exclusive of those by the Rev. I. Diell, the seamen's chaplain, who marries, annually, a few foreigners to native women. In some cases the ceremony is performed by the chiefs.

In the district of Eva (Oahu), the population was,

In 1831	4015
In 1835	3423
Decrease in 4 years	592

In the district of Waianae (Oahu), the population was,

In 1831	1868
In 1835	1654
Decrease in 4 years	214

In the district of Kauai (Kauai), the deaths in the year 1835 were 164, and the births 80, in a population of 8934.

In the district of Kohala (Hawaii), the population was,

In 1832	8679
In 1836	6175
Decrease in 4 years . .	2504

In the district of Hamakua (Hawaii), the population was,

In 1832	4786
In 1836	4015
Decrease in 4 years . .	771

From these data, allowing for the inaccuracy to which they are liable, we may estimate that the births are to the deaths as one to two, and the decrease of the total population at the rate of six per cent. in four years, or one and a half per cent. per annum. The decrease does not appear to be confined to one island or to one district, but to prevail, pretty equally in the whole group.

If these data be correct, and we have every reason to believe they are, and no means be taken to arrest this alarming decrease, it is clear the Sandwich Islands, in the course of time, must be entirely depopulated, though centuries must elapse before the last man of the nation expires.

We naturally ask what are the causes of this decrease of population, in a salubrious climate, where the people have never been afflicted by any desolating epidemic? It is difficult, if not impossible, to give a definite answer to this question, though we may offer something which may assist in its solution.

It is clear that this decrease is not owing to any

one cause, and may, therefore, be attributed, with more propriety, to the joint effects of several causes. Infanticide, intemperance, bad living, change in social habits, the state of political oppression, and, perhaps, we may add, civilization; for it has been remarked that savage tribes fall before the march of improvement, in spite of every caution in feeding and lodging. Every one of these causes must operate upon the physical condition and consequently affect production.

It is not doubted, that the population has been decreasing ever since the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook; and perhaps at a more rapid rate than since the introduction of Christianity; though we have no positive data by which to verify such a supposition. Previously to the establishment of the missionaries in the islands, added to the causes of depopulation, already named, were human sacrifices to the gods, and cruel and exterminating wars; child-murder was, moreover, practised to a great extent. As far as these were concerned in the depopulation, the efforts of the missionaries, we must suppose, would positively check it.

Murder was perpetrated upon infants from the fourth or fifth month of utero-gestation, until they had attained the age of one or even two years. The causes alleged by the mother for this unchristian act, were either the trouble of nursing, or that they were annoyed by their offspring's cries. If a mother found her infant fretful, instead

of soothing it with a mother's fond and tender caresses, she forced a piece of tapa-cloth into its throat to stifle complaint, and then buried it alive, not unfrequently within the house, and close to the mat upon which she slept. The act was committed with indifference and without any hesitation or misgiving.* How can we reconcile to these facts, the notion that love of offspring is innate and necessary to the human breast? The love for children results from the education of the parents in the first place, and from their intimate association with them in the second. From long and closer intimacy with her children, the love of the mother is much more tender and enduring than that of the father, and increases with their age. Hence it is, the death of an infant a few days old, is a trifling loss to the parent, when compared with that of a prattling child, or of a youth just verging into maturity. In this way, too, we may account for the fact, that fathers often manifest a total indifference towards illegitimate offspring.

Infanticide is still practised, but not to the same extent as formerly, nor is the deed committed openly. At the imminent peril of the mother, children are now destroyed about the fourth or fifth month of utero-gestation, almost entirely in cases of illegitimacy, and but very rarely after birth. Infanticide has been made a crime by the civil law; and it is to be hoped that these people will soon feel it to be an offence, equally against

* Polynesian Researches by William Ellis, vol. iv., London, 1837.

social and moral rectitude, as well as detrimental to their political condition.

The history of infanticide in these islands shows a progress in the sense of right and wrong. In their remote time, and until within a few years, infanticide was not a crime, nor did it draw reproach or disapprobation upon the mother. Consequently, the life of the child was taken, and neither the mother nor any of her friends perceived any thing right or wrong in the act, which was followed by no feelings of remorse, or dread of punishment. The act brought no dishonour, and its memory never excited a pang. Unlike the deluded victim of the seducer in civilized life, the Hawaiin mother is never haunted by the spirit of her murdered babe. She perpetrates the deed, uninterrupted by an agonizing contention of love and honour in her breast. This sense, then, of right and wrong cannot be innate, or it must be very weak, where the mother prefers committing murder to bearing the petty annoyance of a crying child. This sense of right and wrong is rather a sense of safety and of danger, and results from the love of life and its pleasures, or the instinctive movement of a perceptive intelligence towards self-preservation. This instinct is common to man and animals.*

* "It is an undeniable fact," says M. Cousin, "that when we have done right or wrong, when we have obeyed the law of justice or have broken it, we judge that we merit reward or punishment. It is, more-

This sense of right and wrong is not innate, and does not depend upon a *law of nature;* it is rather a sense of safety and of danger, and depends upon, and always has reference to special codes of law. It was in consequence of the special law or injunction not to eat the apple, that Adam and Eve felt the sense of wrong and hid themselves to avoid the infliction of punishment; for it is fair to presume, that previously to the injunction not to do it, they might have eaten the apple without emotion of any kind. There was nothing intrinsically wrong in eating the apple; it was the law which made it so. It is not the sense of wrong that suggests stealth to the thief or murderer, but the instinct of self-preservation which teaches him to avoid detection to escape the punishment of the law. Give him sufficient force and take away the law, and he will enact his deeds openly. Where there is no law,

over, a fact that we do indeed receive reward or punishment: 1. In the approbation of conscience or in the bitterness of remorse: 2. In the esteem or censure of our fellow-men, who, themselves moral beings, judge also of good and bad as we do, and, like us, judge that right and wrong merit reward and punishment; and who do punish and reward according to the nature of our actions, sometimes by the moral sentence of their esteem or blame, sometimes by physical punishments and rewards, which positive laws, the legitimate interpreter of the *law of nature*, hold ready for actions: 3. And, finally, if we raise our thoughts beyond this world, if we conceive of God as we ought, not only as the Author of the physical world, but as the Father of the moral world, as the very substance of good, and of the moral law, we cannot but conceive that God ought also to hold ready rewards and punishments for those who have fulfilled or broken the law."—*Cousin's Elements of Psychology, by C. S. Henry.*

physical or moral, there can be no such thing as merit or demerit; and of course, no place for reward or punishment, nor ground for peace of conscience or the pains of remorse. Do the Dayaks of Borneo think they are doing wrong when they hunt their fellow men to obtain human heads wherewith to court their sweethearts? Do the Chinese women feel they are doing wrong when they perpetrate infanticide? Does the Turk think he is doing wrong when he cozens the Christian? Do cannibals feel they are doing wrong when they feed on human flesh? To each and all of these questions the answer is, No! And the reason why these acts do not bring with them a sense of wrong is, that with those people there are no laws, either physical or moral, against them. The same was also true of the Sandwich Islanders, in respect to infanticide, previously to the institution of the law against it; but since its institution, the act of childs murder is accompanied by a sense of wrong, or rather a sense of danger, a fear of punishment; and hence it is, the deed is no longer committed openly. Indeed, infanticide and adult murder, are opposed only in those communities whose intelligence has pointed out the principle of common good, and where the preservation of society and the increase of the population are recognised as political desiderata. It is a mistake, to suppose that there is a code of moral or physical laws universally applicable to the human race in its present

condition, unless we except that of self-preservation. Ideas of duty, and the consciences of men, depend upon education, or upon the manners and customs of the people amongst whom their first lot or birth may be cast. The Hindoo wife perishes upon the same funeral pile that consumes the dead body of her husband; Mohammedans who break the law of their prophet, are as much conscience-striken, feel as much remorse as Christians or believers in other religious creeds, when they transgress the rules and precepts of their respective faiths.

It is clear that what M. Cousin states as an "undeniable fact," in the above quotation, is only partially so; and is only true of Christians and men who are reared in Christian communities.

But, to return from this digression to the consideration of other causes of decrease of the population: Intemperance in diet and the abusive use of ardent spirits, which is their first acquisition from intercourse with Christian strangers, affecting as it does, very considerably, both production and duration, by inducing premature exhaustion of the vital forces, and consequently a host of active diseases, must powerfully oppose the increase of population. The fact is so well known, that it requires neither proof nor illustration.

When we see the manner in which many of the Hawaiians live, we wonder how it is possible for human beings thus fed or rather fasted, thus lodged and not clothed, nor sheltered either from sunshine

or rain, or chilling blasts of the mountain winds; we wondered how they have resisted in their childhood, the causes of destruction, amidst which they first see the light, and in spite of them not only arrive at adult age, but even live to a comfortable senectitude. In the valley of Manoa, I saw several families residing on spots of earth, sheltered from the damp ground and vicissitudes of the weather, by a hovel of mats, just large enough for them to crawl into. Yet in this, as in all the valleys, there are showers almost daily, and the atmosphere is so cool that Europeans find blankets not only bearable but necessary. The food of these natives consists almost exclusively of taro, and when they occasionally get a little meat or fish, they esteem themselves fortunate.

A change has taken place in certain customs, which must have influenced the physical developement of the islanders. I allude to the variety of athletic exercises, such as swimming, with or without the surf-board, dancing, wrestling, throwing the javalin, &c., all of which games, being in opposition to the severe tenets of Calvinism, have been suppressed, without the substitution of other pursuits to fill up the time. Whether sinful or not, will depend upon the religious code by which they are measured. But let this be as it may, these exercises and games affect the health and longevity of the people, because, being deprived of

these sports, they labour only to obtain food, which may be two days in the week, and having no mental relaxation, the remainder of the time is devoted to sleeping, or drinking, and other vicious practices. It must be borne in mind, that we are speaking of people whose blood has always moved beneath a tropic sun, from their remotest ancestry to the present time. They cannot endure the same uninterrupted and incessant labour as Europeans or Americans, without a very much greater wear and tear; and though capable of very severe toil and great physical achievement, it is only for a short time together, and is generally followed by long periods of rest. Within the tropics, the inhabitants require longer periods of relaxation, both from mental and physical employment, than in temperate climates; and there are few who have not heard of the dangers which environ those of high latitudes, who reside in, or even visit the equatorial regions of the earth. Now, simply desisting from labour is not rest, particularly in young subjects; people, to enjoy life, require more; they want amusement, without which they flag, the spirits droop, disease follows, and they drag on a miserable, misanthropic existence, till death closes the scene. The practice in the middle and northern sections of our country, must not be taken as a rule, for there is perhaps no civilized people on earth, with the same oppor-

tunities, who spend so little time in sports and amusements. They all fix upon a time to come for enjoyment, which generally arrives when the vivacity and elasticity of mind and body have already disappeared, and the organism is no longer sensible to pleasure.

Would these games have been suppressed had the missionaries never arrived at the islands? It is fair to presume that they would have continued in use. Can the missionaries be fairly charged with suppressing these games? I believe they deny having done so. But they write and publicly express their opinions, and state these sports to be expressly against the laws of God, and by a succession of reasoning, which may be readily traced, impress upon the minds of the chiefs and others, the idea that all who practise them, secure to themselves the displeasure of offended heaven. Then the chiefs, from a spontaneous benevolence, at once interrupt customs so hazardous to their vassals.

On one occasion in Honolulu, I was present at a *soirée* where several persons of the mission were in company with ten or eleven ladies, and a number of gentlemen, many of them officers of our little squadron. A few songs were sung accompanied by the piano. Dancing was proposed by some of the young persons, and presently one of the officers managed to obtain a violin. The bow was drawn sportively across the strings outside of the door, to announce the "glad tidings." The

missionaries took the alarm, and, with all regard to decorum, took a speedy leave. Of course there was no impropriety in this. The party continued dancing till a late hour, and none of us had reason to complain of the pleasures of the evening. A few days afterwards, we were informed, through a respectable native woman, who speaks English, that one of the missionaries took occasion to allude to this party in his sermon, in which he set forth the sin of dancing, and rebuked all such pastimes, and concluded by reminding his hearers that they never saw the missionaries do such things. It is offered as an apology for alluding to the subject from the pulpit, that a number of natives were looking on from outside, and the missionaries apprehended their own characters for consistency might suffer from being seen in such festive company.

That the missionaries are correct according to their own consciences and the tenets of their faith, I presume no one will deny; and they of course believe they are acting for the general good; but some will think, nevertheless, that such a course is highly ill-judged and impolitic, as applied to the social condition and worldly prosperity of the nation, as well as opposed to the advancement of civil and political knowledge among the people and their rulers.

A glance at the political government of the

islands will be sufficient to show under what oppression the common people live.*

The government is a pure hereditary despotism, the will of the monarch in all cases being the law. Heirship is not confined to the male line, but in most instances female descent gives rank, which was explained to Mr. Canning by the late king Riho'riho when in England: he stated, that in the

* "The Hawaiian system of government," says Mr. Ellis, "whether derived from the country whence the first settlers emigrated, or established by warlike chieftains at a subsequent period of their history, as an expedient to secure conquests, to command the services of their tenants on occasions of war, and to perpetuate the influence which military prowess or success in the first instance had given them, exhibits, in its decided monarchical character, the hereditary descent of rank and office, and other distinguishing features, considerable advances from a state of barbarism, and warrants the conclusion that they have been an organized community for many generations. But whatever antiquity their system may possess, they have made but little progress in the art of good government. The well-being of the subject seems to have been rarely regarded by the rulers, who appear to have considered the lower orders in general as a kind of property, to be employed only in promoting the interests of their superiors; and the ardent love of wealth, which an acquaintance with the productions of foreign countries has excited in most of the chiefs, has not improved the condition of the people. Industry receives no encouragement; and even those whom natural energy of character would induce to cultivate a larger portion of land than was absolutely necessary for their bare subsistence, are deterred from the attempt by the apprehension of thereby exposing themselves to the rapacity of avaricious or necessitous chiefs. Nothing can be more detrimental to the true interests of the chiefs, and the civilization and happiness of the people, than the abject dependence of the latter, the uncertain tenure of lands, the exactions of the chiefs, and the restrictions on the trade with the shipping which they impose."

Sandwich Islands, a man never certainly knew who was his father; but, in regard to his mother, doubts seldom existed.

The system of government in its details is complex. There is no written code; though a few of the laws have been lately published. At the market the prices of every thing are fixed by the chiefs, who require one half of the receipts of the common people as their own perquisite. Their exactions upon the produce of the soil is in an equal ratio; so that a day labourer, who obtains one or two days' employment in the week, is equally well off with him who manages a little farm. Besides paying these exactions, the common people are obliged to render man-service to the king, five days in fourteen. There is also a poll tax, levied at a dollar for every man; a half dollar for every woman, and a quarter of a dollar for every child four feet high.

The soil is recognised to be the sole property of the king. It was divided out amongst the chief warriors at the time of the conquest, and for its use they pay a tax in produce; but at the will of the king they may be deprived of their possessions at any moment. No measure of land has yet been established, but districts or portions of soil are marked by natural boundaries. In the same way each island has a governor who pays the king an annual contribution in produce and dollars.

Such then are the influences combined against the increase of the population of these islands, which, under a different state of things, might become a seat of arts and of learning, and crowded with opulent people. Their position is very favourable for trade. Lying in the route between the western coasts of America and China, they have become an entrepôt for merchant vessels, and the fur traders of the north-west coast of America, as well as a place of refreshment for the great American whale fleet of the Pacific. When the laws shall be so modified as to encourage labour, and the soil shall be put under cultivation, large crops of sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco and silk will form the staples of a valuable commerce.

It is difficult to estimate the value of the present trade of the islands. The capital constantly changing hands may be annually 300,000 dollars, and always at an advance of from one to two hundred per cent. Bills of exchange either on England or the United States, are at a discount of from fifteen to twenty per cent.

The value of real estate owned at Honolulu by the Americans and English is estimated at 100,000 dollars; and the whole amount of property of every description exclusive of shipping, thus owned, is not less than half a million of dollars, of which four-fifths are American.

Nearly 2000 tons of shipping are owned

by the foreign residents of Oahu, said to be worth 90,000 dollars.

In the year 1834, ninety-five American whale ships, seventeen English whale ships, and thirty-six merchant vessels visited the port of Honolulu. In 1835, the number of whale ships was seventy-two, and that of the merchant vessels thirty-six.

Statement of Imports at Honolulu, for the Years 1834 *and* 1835.

	Dollars.	
From the United States, in merchant vessels	162,000	
Chile and Peru	56,000	
England and America, in whale ships	40,000	
		258,000
Consisting of bleached and unbleached, and blue cotton cloth, prints, chintz, hardware, sheathing copper, cordage, canvass, naval stores, paints, iron, bread, salted provisions, brandy, rum, wines, gin, furniture, soap, and oil.		
From China—blue nankins, cotton goods, silks, teas, sugar, &c.		97,000
From Upper California—sea-otter skins, bullocks' hides, horses, lumber, &c.		104,000
From Columbia river, and Russian settlements on the north-west coast—salmon, lumber, spars, &c.		33,000
From the north-west coast of America—furs		29,000
From Mexico—specie		20,000
From New South Wales and New Zealand—spars, lumber, hardware, cotton goods, &c.		16,000
From the Society, Friendly, and Caroline islands—pearl shells, turtle shell, sugar, arrow root, cocoanut oil, &c.		15,000
From Belgium—laces, gin, beer, &c.		3,000
		575,000

In the above statement no account is made of

the large quantity of merchandise brought to Honolulu, destined for other markets, and, of course, carried away without landing or changing hands. The statement shows the actual business operation.

Statement of the Exports from Honolulu for the Years 1834 *and* 1835.

	Dollars.
Sandal wood, 9,500 peculs	60,000
Furs—sea and land otter skins, beaver skins, &c.	109,000
Bullocks' hides	26,000
Oil—Spermaceti, cocoanut, and Kukui oils	20,000
Turtle shell, 6,000 dollars—pearl shell, 6,000 dollars	12,000
Salt, 6,000 dollars—goat skins, 7,000 dollars	13,000
Arrow root, 2,000 dollars—tobacco, 2,000 dollars	4,000
Foreign merchandise—chiefly exported to California, the Russian settlements, Mexico, and islands in the South Pacific	100,000
Provisions and supplies to whale ships, which are paid for in barter and bills of exchange on the United States and Engl.	140,000
Specie	10,000
Total amount of Exports	494,000

Bills of exchange, drawn by the governors of the Russian colonies on the imperial government, and by masters of ships on their owners, afford the means of remitting a large amount annually to the United States, China, &c.

For the above statements I am indebted to Mr. H. A. Pierce.

As will be seen in the following memorial, our trade is, at times, interrupted, and requires the occasional presence of a ship-of-war for its protection.

"*Oahu, Sandwich Islands,*
September 16*th,* 1836.

"To Edmund P. Kennedy, Esq.
Commanding U. S. Naval Forces, of the
East India and Asiatic Station.

"SIR,

"The undersigned, citizens of the United States of America, resident at the Sandwich Islands, beg leave respectfully to represent to you:

"That we are all, directly or indirectly, interested in the commercial operations conducted from the United States, China, and these Islands, to the coasts of California and Mexico:

"That many serious outrages and unjust acts have been committed by the governmental authorities of those countries upon American vessels and seamen, and great losses and damages sustained in consequence.

"In the summer of 1833, the brig Loriot, Gorham H. Nye, master, Alpheus B. Thompson, supercargo, was unwarrantably seized in the harbour of St. Francisco, and detained several months. The sails of the vessel were unbent, her rudder unhung, and carried on shore, the master and crew were confined on board, and the supercargo committed to prison, whence he was not allowed his liberty for many months, nor until he had procured heavy bonds not to leave the country. He still remains under those bonds, if not in prison.

"From intelligence recently received from California, we believe that a vessel, owned by John Coffin Jones, Esq., U. S. Consul, at this place, has been seized, and is at present detained under similar circumstances of injustice, for alleged violations of the laws of the country, while she was under the direction of her previous owners, and in command of her former master. We refer to these as *instances* of grievous embarrassments arbitrarily imposed on our commerce.

"We believe that no vessel of the United States government has, for many years, visited Upper California; and we have great confidence that, were a naval force to appear on that coast, and visit Lower California and Mexico, it would render valuable service to our citizens residing in those countries, would afford needed succour and protection to American vessels at present employed there, and be attended with results peculiarly advantageous to the general interests of our national commerce.

"With these statements and views, we have to express the hope that you may find it in your power to visit those coasts with the force under your command, before you shall leave the Pacific.

With due considerations of respect,

We remain, sir, your fellow-citizens,

PIERCE & BREWER,	LADD & CO.
JOSEPH MOORE,	SHERMAN PACK,
WILLIAM PATY,	HINCKLEY & SMITH,

A. H. Fayerweather, John Paty,
Thomas Cummins, Samuel A. Cushing,
Henry P. Stevens, Wm. French, by J. J.
Eliab Grimes & Co., Greenway.
Thomas Meek, I. R. Thomas, Jr.
Henry Paty & Co., J. Ebbetts,
J. Peabody, Stephen D. Mackintosh,
Eli Southworth, William H. Pearce,
Joseph Navarro, Cornelius Hoyer,
D. Owen, Nelson Hall,
Samuel F. Shaw, Charles Titcomb,
A. C. Davis, William C. Little."

Our commercial interests at the Sandwich Islands require a consulate on a footing different from that of the present: The consul should be placed, by a competent salary, beyond the influence of personal interest in commercial transactions, that his opinions may be as free from bias as those of a judge on the bench. This has been urged, again and again, for the past seven years, and merits investigation, at least, by the proper branch of our government. The gentleman who at present fills the office is a favourite with all parties, and we regret that he was absent, engaged in his commercial affairs.

It was said, that a vice-consul here displayed too much energy among seamen; and when a vessel arrived, of which the crew was, from any cause, discontented, he went on board, and said,

"Now, men, there are three things I won't hear a word about—you mustn't say you are worked too hard, that you are ill-treated, or haven't enough to eat. If you have any thing else to say, I'll listen to you."

If, on the contrary, the commander preferred charges against any of his crew, this vice-consul, arrogating to himself the final power of a court of *oyer et terminer*, condemned the charged seaman to labour in the fort at Honolulu; excusing the irregularity of the act with a sage apothegm, that those who eat must work, for he was not authorized to support any body in idleness.

CHAPTER XX.

SKETCHES IN THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

October, 1836.

When foreigners first settled in the islands, the king or chiefs allotted to each one, upon application, a site for building a house, for which they paid neither tax nor lease-rent. But when they left the islands, the privilege of transferring tenements or improvements by sale or otherwise, was denied; and the chiefs, in several instances, directed the owners to remove their houses, and then proceeded to take them down, and, piling the timber where the house stood, ordered it to be taken away. The Hawaiians were, and still are treated in like manner. From this custom several disputes have arisen, the foreigners insisting upon their right of selling or otherwise disposing of their property, at any time, to any person or persons, which the king denies. The American residents complained of several grievances of this kind, and others under the following treaty.

Articles of arrangement made and concluded at Oahu, between THOMAS AP CATESBY JONES, appointed by the United States, of the one part, and KAUIKEAOULI, King of the Sandwich Islands, and his Guardians, on the other part.

ARTICLE I.

The peace and frendship subsisting between the United States and their Majesties, the Queen Regent and Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands, and their subjects and people, are hereby confirmed and declared to be perpetual.

ARTICLE II.

The ships and vessels of the United States (as well as their Consuls and all other citizens), within the territorial jurisdiction of the Sandwich Islands, together with all their property, shall be inviolably protected against *all* enemies of the United States in time of war.

ARTICLE III.

The contracting parties, being desirous to avail themselves of the bounties of Divine Providence, by promoting the commercial intercourse and friendship subsisting between the respective nations, for the better security of these desirable objects, their Majesties bind themselves to receive into their ports and harbours all ships and vessels of the United States, and to protect to the uttermost of their capacity, all such ships and vessels, their cargoes, officers, and crews, so long as they shall behave themselves peacefully, and not infringe the established laws of the land; the citizens of the United States being permitted to trade freely with the people of the Sandwich Islands.

ARTICLE IV.

Their Majesties do further agree to extend the fullest protection within their control to all ships and vessels of the United States, which may be wrecked on their shores, and to render every assistance in their power to save the wreck, and her apparel and cargo; and as a reward for the assistance and protection which the people of the Sandwich Islands shall afford to all such distressed vessels of the United States they shall be entitled to a salvage or a portion of the property so saved; but such salvage shall in no case exceed one-third of the value saved, which valuation is to be fixed by a commission of disinterested persons, who shall be chosen equally by the parties.

ARTICLE V.

Citizens of the United States whether resident or transient, engaged in commerce or trading to the Sandwich Islands, shall be inviolably protected in their lawful pursuits; and shall be allowed to sue for and recover by judgment, all claims against the subjects of his Majesty, the King, according to strict principles of equity and the acknowledged practice of civilized nations.

ARTICLE VI.

Their Majesties do further agree, and bind themselves, to discountenance and use all practicable means to prevent desertion from all American ships which visit the Sandwich Islands; and to that end, it shall be made the duty of all governors, magistrates, chiefs of districts, and all others in authority, to apprehend all deserters, and deliver them over to the master of the vessel from which they have deserted; and for the apprehension of every such deserter, who shall be delivered over as aforesaid, the master, owner or agent shall pay to the person or persons apprehending such deserter, the sum of six dollars, if taken on the side of the island near which the vessel is anchored; but if taken on the opposite side of the island, the sum shall be twelve dollars; and if taken on any other island, the reward shall be twenty-four dollars, and shall be a just charge against the wages of every such deserter.

ARTICLE VII.

No tonnage duties or imposts shall be exacted of any citizen of the United States, which is not paid by the citizens or subjects of the nation most favoured in commerce with the Sandwich Islands; and the citizens or subjects of the Sandwich Islands shall be allowed to trade with the United States and her territories, upon principles of equal advantage with the most favoured nation.

Done in Council at Honolulu, Island of Oahu, this 23d day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1826.

ELISABETA KAAHUMANU,

KARAIMOKU,

BOKI,

HOAPILI,

LIDIA NAMAHANA,

THOS. AP CATESBY JONES.

With a view to the adjustment of these differences, Commodore Kennedy waited upon Kinau, the governess of the Island of Oahu. We found her at her house, near the fort, with her husband and several of the chiefs. The house has "adobe" walls, and a native roof, lined with mats. One side of the apartment in which we were received, was occupied by a pile of mats, which served as a divan or a bed, according to circumstances. A board partition, neatly painted, separated it from the sleeping-apartment of Kinau. The furniture consisted of a table, a China desk, Windsor chairs, and arm-chairs for the king, governess, and commodore.

It had been improperly given out that the interview was to be public, and as the subjects to be discussed were of much general interest to the foreign residents, a considerable number attended at the several interviews which took place.

We were politely welcomed, and learned that the king had deputed Kinau to act for him, as he was too unwell to attend.

The first complaint preferred was, that American vessels had been prevented from trading at the Island of Maui without justifiable cause, which act was in violation of the third article of the treaty.

Kinau stated that one vessel had been prevented from trading at Maui, because the captain, in open violation of the law, after having been duly

informed of it, continued to sell ardent spirits, which the king had prohibited in all the islands except Oahu. Nor does he allow it to be distilled except on this island. This explanation was received as amply satisfactory.

The next subject brought up for consideration was, whether the king had a right to prevent American residents from transferring houses, &c., by sale or otherwise. Kinau urged, that the king had never, in any instance, alienated his right in the soil, and when lots of ground were assigned to foreigners, it was always understood, either on the departure of the individual from the islands, or at his death, such ground reverted to the king, and that it must be cleared. That the king would give his consent, were it asked, to the sale or transfer of houses, &c., provided he should deem the person to whom the transfer was to be made, respectable, and likely to be a good citizen.

The next day another interview occurred, and the subject was again discussed. The king was now present. He argued, that if he yielded the right of transfer, without consulting the government, he virtually resigned his right in the soil, which was unalienable, as well as all authority or control over it, and thus he might be deprived of all his country. He was asked how that could be the case, so long as he received a rent or tax for it; and we were told in reply, that he had in no instance received rent or tax for lands hitherto

granted to foreigners. There was no representative value affixed to land; and keeping this fact in view, we are not surprised at His Majesty's argument. The subject of leasing lands for the purpose of cultivating sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco, or silk, was talked of, and the king expressed himself decidedly in favour of the principle; but he wished to be expressly understood, that in recognising the principle of lease, he did not feel bound to grant lands to all who might apply. He was unwilling to give this in writing, because he said, it was a new thing, and required more consideration than he had yet been able to give it.

On both of these occasions, the Rev. Mr. Bishop acted as interpreter. His constant attention, his gentlemanly demeanour, and his enlarged views of the subjects under discussion, as well as the knowledge he displayed of the language, commanded the praise and approbation of all the officers present. He was equally desirous with our commercial countrymen here to settle the question of the right of transferring property, because the property of the mission was not more secure than that belonging to other foreigners.

Some questions were asked in relation to the authority of American consuls. An English cockney who was present, and who volunteered to give us information on the subject, afterwards asked, "Have you attorneys or lawyers in America?" I

mention this because it reminds me that a gentleman of the same tribe asked me, at Valparaiso, in 1827, what we did in America when we wanted a coat;—then pausing, and perhaps perceiving my astonishment, added—"Ah! but I imagine some English tailors have gone out there by this time."

A third interview took place the following day, on which occasion, Mr. Chamberlain, the fiscal agent of the mission, acted as interpreter. I was surprised to find that he, as well as several others of the mission, entertained a notion, that if foreigners were allowed to lease lands, there would be a risk of the king losing all control over the islands, and for that reason opposed the principle which had been recognised.

Messrs. Ladd & Co. have already leased a tract of land on the island of Kauai, for cultivating sugar-cane and making sugar. They pay a rent for it and besides granting them some privileges, pay the natives whom they employ, daily wages of about twelve and a half cents each, and their poll tax. The king declares, his revenue from this one plantation, is greater than that which he previously received from the whole island.

An old claim of 60,000 dollars was admitted and the king offered to liquidate it within two years, provided the claimant would receive it in any articles produced upon the islands, which should be left to his selection, and he would com-

mence the payment at once; but the gentleman was absent, and his agent did not think proper to accept the terms; we afterwards saw him, and he told me he would have gladly acceded to the proposition, had he been present.

A very much smaller claim of another American was also recognised.

Though nothing was settled, it must be plain to those who reflect upon the subject in all its bearings, that the mere discussion of the several points, so entirely new to the mind of His Hawaiian Majesty, must have a beneficial effect; particularly if negotiation should be in future attempted by any one clothed with proper authority. Nor were these interviews to no purpose, since they resulted in a formal acknowledgment of American claims to a very considerable amount, for which the gentlemen most interested must feel entirely indebted to the kind interference of Commodore Kennedy. He could not, consistently with American principles of honour and justice, make use of threats, or force to bully these people into an acquiescence with his views, as a British Captain, Lord Edward Russell, we are informed, has since done. Perhaps he regarded the king and chiefs as rebellious subjects of His Britannic Majesty, inasmuch as the celebrated Tamèhamèha ceded these islands, through Captain Vancouver, to Great Britain, which cession was confirmed by the late King Riho'riho, when in England.

But as Americans never resort to the force of arms to corroborate their arguments in diplomacy, particularly when no such appeal is necessary, Commodore Kennedy left them to learn the advantage and importance of the subjects urged upon their consideration.

Before sailing, the following letters, which explain themselves, were directed to the authorities.

"U. States Ship Peacock,
Honolulu, Sandwich Islands,
October 7th, 1836.

"To His Majesty,
Kauikeaouli, King of the Sandwich Islands.

"Having indulged the hope that the negotiations which have been pending for the past week, would have terminated in the formation of more intimate relations, and some new ties of friendship between our respected countries, which would be advantageous to American citizens as well as to your own subjects, I cannot refrain, on leaving these islands, from expressing in a concise manner my sentiments with regard to several subjects of importance, upon which we have not been able to come to a definite conclusion.

"The first, which is in my opinion, at present, of paramount importance, is the right of American citizens to transfer to other American citizens any property, rights, or privileges, which may have been derived from the government of these islands, either by purchase, gift, or lease.

"This right is so essential for the protection of the interests of residents, that although not *expressly stated* in the Treaty made by Captain Jones, it may be very easily inferred from it, and as it is equally necessary for the interests of these islands, that every foreigner's right should be distinctly stated and carefully preserved, I have to express the hope that you will, at an early period, adopt some plans which will prevent further occasion of dissatisfaction in this respect, both with regard to those now holding lands, and those who may hereafter become tenants. Unless this should be the case, it cannot be expected that any one will be disposed to invest their property in buildings on government lands, and consequently the natives will be deprived of a considerable amount of property, which is now expended by settlers from abroad, in erecting durable dwelling-houses or stores, and all improvement in the appearance and convenience of the dwellings must speedily cease.

"I beg also that the subject of leasing or renting lands to our citizens for agricultural purposes, may receive your best attention; being fully convinced, that the prosperity of this nation can in no way be more speedily promoted, than by encouraging the growth of sugar, coffee, silk, hemp, indigo, and other articles of commercial importance.

"The increase of revenue to the government from this source, might alone form a sufficient inducement for the promotion of agricultural inte-

rests; but to this may be added the increase of industry, health, happiness, and comfort to the population generally, in case the lands now lying without benefit to any one, should be brought into active cultivation, by the labour of the natives. It will not only bring to your ports ships of all nations, for the purpose of carrying away the produce of your lands, but afford the natives generally the means of procuring those manufactures of other countries, which will increase their usefulness and knowledge; and which add so essentially to the happiness of civilized nations.

"With regard to the imprisonment of American seamen, who have been charged by the captains or officers of merchant vessels with mutiny, and other offences of a serious character, I have to request that as no authority is vested by the United States of America, in any person which empowers him to punish American citizens, you will be careful, in every instance where such persons are placed in your custody by the consul, that they are not in any manner ill treated, or compelled to labour for the government, as I am informed has formerly been the practice, but merely detained until an opportunity occurs of sending them home for trial.

"I wish also to observe, that although as king of these islands you have a right to make any particular religion the standing religion of the land, you have not under the Treaty now existing be-

tween your government and the United States, any right to expel from your land, or prohibit from landing, any American citizen or citizens, whatever may be his or their religious opinions, so long as they conform to your laws; as in the United States, every person is at liberty under our laws, to worship God in his own way, and every denomination, whether Christian or Jew, is eligible to the highest office in the government.

"The recognition of Mr. Paty's case, subsequent to our conference, will prevent the necessity of any further interference on my part; and I have now only to express my best wishes for the welfare and prosperity of yourself and the Sandwich Islands.

I have the honour to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
EDMUND P. KENNEDY,
Commanding the East India and Asiatic squadron."

"U. S. Ship Peacock,
Honolulu, October, 1836.

"To KINAU,
High Chief of Oahu,
&c. &c.

"I have thought a few remarks from me at this time would not be unacceptable to you. I have long felt the deepest interest in the happiness of the people over whom you preside as chief and governor.

"I visited these islands seven years ago, and was much gratified with what I then saw. Your people had made considerable advances in morals and religion; and I was particularly pleased with the zeal and fidelity of the missionaries residing among your people. I then hoped a few years more would see the Hawaiian people a Christian and civilized nation. I did hope, that as soon as the chiefs embraced the Christian religion, they would see the importance of elevating the character and condition of the common people; and that they would be induced to this course by motives of Christian philanthropy, as well as by motives of worldly policy.

"It is remarked in all Christian and highly civilized nations, that the power and wealth of the rulers of every country increase with the morality, intelligence and wealth of the commonalty; and it is also remarked that the stability and permanency of the government become more secure as the morality, religion and intelligence of the mass of the people become general.

"From careful accounts which have been taken of the births and deaths, it appears that the population of the islands is decreasing with fearful rapidity. What is causing this decrease, I will not venture to say; but I beg to suggest a few changes in the condition of the people, which, if adopted, will, I have no doubt, soon change the condition of the nation, from its present depression to one of high prosperity.

" 1. *A fixed and certain rent upon land.*

" If the cultivators of the soil are satisfied, after paying a proper rent to the owner of the land, in money or produce, that all the produce left is their own, they will have an inducement to labour, which does not at present exist.

" 2. *Security for person and property.*

" Unless the people are secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of their labour, it will be in vain to attempt to improve their condition. No man will work more than he is compelled to, without he has a reasonable security that he will be permitted to enjoy the fruits of his labour, without fear of being deprived of his property by the chiefs or the government.

" As the improvement of the islands is mainly dependent on trade, every protection should be afforded to all foreign residents, as well to their ships as goods, so long as they act correctly. They should be permitted freely to buy, sell, or exchange any kind of property. Nothing short of this, will be such a protection as will induce foreigners of property and respectability to remain on the islands.

" 3. *An entire abrogation of all compulsory labour.*

" When the chiefs or government require work to be done, let the labourers be paid the full market price for labour.

" 4. *Taxes.* They should be equal throughout

the islands, and so moderate as not to distress the people. *A poll tax*, if possible, should be avoided, for the rich and poor pay the same amount.

"The cultivation of cotton and coffee can be carried on without any capital, and a ready sale for all that can be produced cannot be doubted. Sugar-cane can also be cultivated by the small land-holder; but it requires a large capital to procure all the machinery required to manufacture sugar from cane. It would therefore be well to encourage and permit capitalists to have establishments on each of the islands, similar to that of Messrs. Ladd & Co. on Kauai. It would also be well to encourage the establishing of one or two cotton manufactories.

"By the adoption of measures like these, the wealth of the king and chiefs would be vastly increased, and the continuance of the government secured. The happiness of all would be promoted, and the desire of your friends in all parts of the world would be accomplished.

"By adopting these few changes, which do not affect the right of the king or chiefs to the soil, or their jurisdiction over the people, a stimulus would be given to industry, which would in a few years change the face of the country from barren wastes to fruitful fields and smiling villages, teeming with a happy, prosperous, and numerous people.

"If something be not done speedily, to bring about a salutary change, I shall indulge the most

gloomy reflections as to the continuance of your race and nation.

"I regret that we cannot converse together, for there are some things here suggested which I should like to explain more fully.

"Excuse the freedom which I have taken in thus addressing you. Your good and the good of your people are my only motive.

"That God may enable you and others in authority, to come to a right and speedy determination in these important matters, is the prayer of one, deeply and feelingly interested in your happiness, for time and eternity.

"Permit me to close these remarks by subscribing myself your friend and brother,

"C. K. STRIBLING."

SKETCHES IN CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER XXI.

October, 1836.

On the 26th of September the Enterprise sailed for Mazatlàn, accompanied by two American merchant vessels, bound to that place.

In compliance with the memorial of the American residents, given above, Commodore Kennedy determined to visit Upper California; and on the 9th of October, sailed from the harbour of Honolulu. We did not lose sight of the island until the second day, when we encountered a light gale from the northward and westward. The wind continued fresh from that quarter until the 24th, when, after a passage of fifteen days and seven hours, the ship anchored in the harbour of Monte-rey, the capital of Upper California. The passage was pleasant. The thermometer fell gradually as we increased our latitude,

from 80° F. to 58° F.; and one morning at Monte-rey, was as low as 49° F. To us this temperature was uncomfortably cold; but it operated like a charm upon those on board who had been enfeebled by disease.

On approaching the coast we fell in with large beds of beautiful sea-weed, which is occasionally met with in such heavy masses as to impede a vessel's motions. The leaves are two or three feet long, and two or three inches broad in the centre, tapering towards the end like the blades of Indian corn. They are of a yellowish brown colour, crimped like crape, and soft and velvety to the touch. On the stem of each leaf there is attached an air vessel, joining it to the stalk, which serves most effectually as a buoy.

The harbour of Monte-rey is situated in 36° 36′ north latitude, and 121° 42′ west longitude. It was discovered in the year 1602, and was named in honour of Don Gaspàr de Zuniga, Conde de Monte-rey, at that time Viceroy of Mexico. It is very large, open to the north-west, from which point a very considerable swell at times sets in to the anchorage. The water is deep, and ships usually anchor in about ten fathoms close to the shore. The land around the bay is high and covered with a growth of pine-trees, which circumstance has given name to the southern point of the harbour—Punta de Pinos.

The town is a scattered series of houses, con-

taining not more than five hundred inhabitants, among whom are fifteen or twenty foreigners, Americans and Englishmen, engaged in trade, which chiefly consists in exchanging European goods for hides and tallow. The hides are purchased at one dollar and a half each, in cash, or at two dollars in goods, and are sent to the United States. Tallow is at one dollar the quintal (100 lbs.), and is disposed of in the Lima market.

We found four merchant vessels and two whale ships, all American, in the harbour, One of them had been, for some months, going from port to port, on the coast; collecting hides and depositing them at Santa Barbara, where they are prepared by salting, &c., and thence shipped to the United States.

The trade is so closely connected with that of the Russian settlements on the north-west coast of America, that no estimate of its value at Monterey alone can be easily made. There may be from six to eight American vessels on the coast every year, which visit San Francisco, Monte-rey, Santa Barbara, and some other ports in Upper California, and exchange goods in each for hides and tallow, and, occasionally, a few beaver and otter skins. They sometimes convey horses and bullocks to the Sandwich and Society Islands.

Our trade with Mexico, at least on the west coast, is much oppressed by the heavy charges to which it is subject. Besides duties on their car-

goes, amounting almost to a prohibition on some articles, ships are charged an anchorage fee, no matter under what circumstances they may enter a port, of seventeen reals (2 dollars 12½ cents) a ton, amounting to 637 dollars 50 cents on a ship of three hundred tons. It is true, after paying this sum, a vessel may go from port to port, in Upper California, as often as may be found desirable, without paying any additional anchorage fee, on exhibiting her register, countersigned by the captain of the port she may have last left.

Our treaty with Mexico is on a footing with the most favoured nation. It requires revision and correction in several particulars. In one point of this instrument the Mexican diplomatists have been an overmatch both for the American Chargé and the British Envoy, possibly owing to a want of a critical knowledge of the Spanish language on the part of those gentlemen.

It has been a usual, and but too frequent practice of the Mexican government, when in want of funds, to exact heavy loans from foreign merchants residing in the country, which are seldom, or never, repaid. To relieve them from such an oppression, the diplomatists negotiated an article, which, in English, exempts them entirely from forced loans; but the Spanish reading implies that American merchants shall not be selected or distinguished from Mexican merchants, and alone forced to loan money to the government; but they shall be subject to the same contingencies equally with them.

Upper California possesses a fertile soil and a good climate. Its population is very much scattered, and consists almost entirely of native Indians, whose numbers are supposed not to exceed ten thousand. They cultivate a few vegetables, but obtain their chief subsistence by the chase. They associate in tribes, or bands, of one or two hundred, seldom in greater numbers, because larger companies cannot readily supply themselves with sufficient game, within the extent of a day's hunt. They plunder the farms of the colonists of horses, which they eat in preference to beef, though horned cattle are more abundant: this fact contradicts the assertion of Professor Kidd, that no people eat horseflesh through preference.

Not long after the Spanish conquest, these Indians became objects of solicitude with the fathers of the church, and they soon established mission stations for their conversion to Christianity. The Indians were caught, and carried to the church, *vi et armis*, and baptized, and thenceforward distinguished as rational people—*gent de razon*. But, feeling little confidence in the controlling influence of baptism over their erratic habits, the priests usually kept them prisoners until they acquired some handicraft, and in this way some few were civilized.

At this time there are twenty-one missions in Upper California, all of which are in a state of decay. I visited that at Cormelo, which I found

in ruins, and almost abandoned. It is about four miles from Monte-rey. The road to it is easy, and agreeably varied by hill and dale, every where covered by pine and other forest trees, and remarkably free from undergrowth.

The mission building is, perhaps, a hundred yards square, one story high, and roofed with tiles. We rode through the gate, which was just ready to fall from its hinges, into the great central court, round which it is built, where we found eight or ten Indians engaged in repairing the roof. They informed us that the Padre was at the presidio, or garrison, and that there was no one to show us the church, which, exteriorly, was in a dilapidated state. All the windows opened in upon the court, and were heavily barred with iron, with the design of preventing the escape of the Christian neophytes, who were locked up at night in apartments to which these windows give light and air. Some of those were open. They were strewed with rubbish and filth, and, altogether, in a worse condition than the commonest stable should be.

The vicinity of Monte-rey, and, indeed, all Upper California, abound in game, rabbits, hares, squirrels, quails, snipe, ducks, &c.; and bears and deer are shot within a few miles of the town. While here, our tables were well supplied, as our chief amusement consisted in sport. The bay abounds in excellent fish, and a variety of shells are found upon its shores. A large species of

haliotis, the internal nacre of which is beautifully iridescent, abounds: the animal is eaten, but, unless great pains be taken to beat it well, before cooking, it is tough and unpalatable. It forms, occasionally, a large black pearl, which is by some persons much admired.

The government of Upper California is, at present, administered by Lieutenant-Colonel Don Nicolas Gutierrez. Don Nicolas resides at the presidio, or garrison, where he commands, without other assistance than that of a major of artillery, a captain and a lieutenant of infantry, and one or two corporals, fourteen men, and two field pieces. At the time of our visit they were nightly on guard, expecting an attack from some disaffected rancheros (farmers) and Indians. The day after our arrival we saluted the place, which was regularly acknowledged from the garrison. The whole military force of Upper California does not exceed one hundred and fifty men.

The judiciary consists of a Juez de Distrito (District Judge) and a number of Alcaldes. From the unsettled state of this part of the country, as well as all Mexico, these worthy dispensers of justice are not unfrequently seen upon the bench with a brace of pistols and a sword before them, instead of a mace, as badges of office. Of their intelligence not much can be said, but an idea of it may be gathered from the following case:

Two common men, one named Juan and the

other Pedro, had a difference. Juan lodged a complaint that he had loaned to Pedro a sum of money, some time before, but could not persuade him to pay it, though he was passing rich in flocks, and horses, and oxen. After a little deliberation, the Alcalde declared that Pedro must and should pay the money, even if he forced him to sell his cattle. Accordingly, Pedro was summoned to the presence of the man of law, when Juan again stated the case, and appealed to Pedro for the truth of what he had said, which was readily acknowledged.

"Then," said the Alcalde, "since you owe this debt, why do you not pay it?"

"Because, Senor," replied Pedro, "I have no money."

"But," interrupted Juan, "thou hast a flock, horses, oxen, and every thing."

"Well said, Juan," exclaimed the Alcalde, "and he shall sell them and pay the debt, or I will teach him what is law, and what is justice."

"Your worship is an honest and a wise man," said Juan, with a bow.

Pedro looked a little puzzled at this decision, and after twirling his hat a moment, bowed, and said, "But, sir, a word by your leave:" then, turning to Juan, continued, "Well, Juan, didst thou lend the money to me, or didst thou lend it to my oxen, or to my horses, or to my flock?"

"I lent it to you, Pedro."

"Thou sayest well; if you lent the money to me, then of course I am responsible, and I must pay; but if thou didst lend it to my oxen, or to my horses, or to my flock, it is clear they are responsible, and they must pay." And as he finished the argument, he turned triumphantly to the Alcalde, looking as if it were unanswerable.

The worthy magistrate had listened attentively, and, after a few moments' pause, reversed his decision; showing that, with him at least, a sense of right and wrong was not innate. He drew himself up, and said with much gravity, "Pedro, thou art right, and thy property cannot be sold."

"And what then am I to do?" asked Juan.

"Wait," said Pedro, "till I get money to pay you."

"That is all can be done according to law in the case," said the Alcalde, and dismissed the parties.

This Alcalde may be paralleled with the Delaware judge, who, having listened only to one half the case, was about to pronounce sentence, when he was interrupted by the counsel for the defendant, exclaiming, "But your honour has not heard the other side of the question!"

"Nor do I mean to hear it, for when I hear both sides of a case, it always puzzles me, and I am not able to pronounce the sentence half so well."

While at Monte-rey, the ship was visited by several trappers or fur hunters of the "far west."

Those who came on board were from Tennessee, and had never seen a ship nor salt water until they beheld the North Pacific Ocean.

Armed with rifles and their traps, these daring sons of the forest leave the western frontier, in bands not exceeding twenty or thirty, mounted on mules, for the reason that horses are found to be incapable of bearing the fatigues of the journey. They travel across the vast prairie lands of the west to Santa Fa, and thence to Upper California, trapping beavers wherever they find them.

In their marches they often meet with tribes of unfriendly Indians, and almost as often have rencounters, which usually end fatally to some of the parties. The Indians invariably scalp those whom they kill; and the trappers often imitate this barbarous custom of savage warfare. We asked a Tennessean trapper whether he had ever killed an Indian?

"Ay, many a one."

"Did you always scalp them?"

"No. I never could do that, because when I have killed a man, I think I have troubled him enough, and I don't like to disturb him after that."

On their march the trappers often separate, and are alone in those unfrequented wilds, for one, two or more days together, with no other protection or means for obtaining food than the rifle, without which they never move any where, even to the shortest distance from their camps, which are

usually so appointed that they may be readily found. A trapper does not like to stroll alone from the camp more than thirty or forty miles; because, said my informant, "he might find himself surprised by them Indian Devils." On these occasions, they never think of sleeping without shoes or mocasins; and the rifle always reposes beside them. Whenever a trapper is surprised thus alone, by a party of Indians, "he makes for the bush, and shoots the first Indian that approaches, and then shifts his hiding-place."

"But do they not follow into the bush?"

"No, the devils dar'n't, because they know there's a rifle in the bush," said the trapper, with a knowing smile, "and I guess one of us would be afeard to go in the bush, when one knows there's a rifle in there."

"Do you never take any provision with you, when leaving the camp alone?"

"No, what does a man want better to feed himself with than a rifle? His companions would laugh if he carried provisions from the camp."

Our informer stated, that he had been twice from Tennessee to Monte-rey, and "the travel" was made in about two years. During their journeys they live chiefly on buffalo-beef, and venison, which they eat without either bread or salt. They very soon learn to do without salt, and seldom think it a privation. And what is very remarkable, this man said, he had never known an instance of

sickness among the trappers, though they sometimes quarrelled and shot each other. So accustomed are they to the open air, and so uncomfortable do they find themselves in a closed atmosphere, that one who went by sea from Monte-rey to San Francisco could not be induced to stay in the cabin, of the ship *upon* which he had embarked, "What," said he, looking down the companion-way; "What! go down into that hole? I should smother to death!" He slept on deck, using no other bedding than a blanket, and no other pillow than his arm.

This passenger was loath to believe that each rope composing the rigging, to him a confused mass, had its respective name, and appealed to the commander to ascertain the truth; "I say, Capting, your mate tells me you have names for all these here ropes?" and when told that such was the case, he declared, "it beat all natur?"

The rifles used by the trappers are of the caliber carrying thirty balls to the pound. The accuracy with which they shoot is the admiration of all, except those who, like themselves, are reared with rifles always in their hands, and taught to look upon this weapon as a source of profit, of defence and offence, as well as of amusement. One of them, premising, that he was not considered a shot either by himself or his companions, offered a bet that he would strike a dollar at a hundred yards without once missing, for as many shots as we might please,

adding, "and make the bet worth consideration, and I will shoot all day."

By way of contrast, I may mention an individual whose education and general notions had been drawn entirely from the ocean. I was introduced to an old man named Captain Smith. He had left his native town of Norfolk, Va. when a boy, in the year 1777, while the British flag still floated in the harbour. He doubled Cape Horn, and remained in the Pacific Ocean, cruising among the islands, and on the north-west coast, until 1832, when, after an absence of fifty-five years, he returned to his native land. The old man visited Norfolk, but was filled with melancholy to find every thing so changed; the relations and friends of his youth had disappeared, and he recognised nothing but a small wooden bridge which was fast falling to decay. His feelings did not allow him to remain. He visited several of the large cities, and again returned to the Pacific. Though too old to command, he continues to go to sea as passenger from port to port, now among the islands, and now on the north-west coast, and entertains his friends with stories of his voyages. He recollects Vancouver distinctly, and mentioned, that at San Francisco the Indians used to gather round his ship to see, if possible, the punishments which Vancouver daily inflicted upon his men. "He served out ten or twelve dozen every morning at the gangway."

I remarked, I should have supposed a man who had been so much at sea would, in his old age, prefer to sit down quietly on shore to spend the remainder of his days. "No, no, sir," he replied, "it would kill any man to live always on shore; he must have a brush at sea once in a while to keep his timbers from rotting."

It was mentioned in the old man's hearing, that the Catholic missionaries who had been expelled from the Sandwich Islands, were at Monte-rey, and anxious to obtain a passage to Oahu, in the hope of finding there an opportunity of proceeding to the Gambier Islands, where there is a Catholic mission. "Well," said Captain Smith, "they will cause more trouble, I suppose. The two worst things, and the two things most difficult to understand and manage, which have come in my way, are a missionary and a California saddle; you can't get along with either of them without getting rubbed."

On the 30th, the Commodore having done all that was necessary in relation to the subjects of complaints under existing circumstances, we got under way. An almost impenetrable fog overhung the harbour nearly all the day, and it was late before we got fairly at sea. Our course lay to the southward, along the coast of Lower California, in order to have the advantage of the land and sea breezes.

Previous to sailing, the following letter, expressing the thanks of several American citizens

for his kind interference, was addressed to Commodore Kennedy.

"MONTE-REY, UPPER CALIFORNIA,
October, 28th, 1836.

"SIR,

"We the undersigned American Residents, Masters and Supercargoes of American vessels in Monte-rey, desire to return to you their humble and grateful thanks for the lively interest you have been pleased to manifest for our commerce on this coast, and that, on the representations of a number of residents and others at the Sandwich Islands, you have been pleased to enter this port for the protection of our interests.

"We trust that we sufficiently appreciate the value to us of this visit so highly important to our affairs, and of the increased security we shall feel by your regard to our welfare.

"The appearance of a U. S. ship of war on this coast, after so long an interval, and after so long an intercourse between our vessels and this territory, has been highly salutary, and permit us to say, that we heartily and sincerely thank you.

"May the remainder of your cruise be pleasant, and your return to the United States all you could desire.

Respectfully yours,

NATHAN SPEAR. JOHN MEEK.
F. D. ATHERTON. THOS. A. NORTON.

THOS. O. LARKIN. A. G. TOMLINSON.
JOSIAH THOMPSON. JNO. H. EVERETT.
WM. L. HINCKLEY. EDWD. H. FAUCON.
WM. M. WARREN. JOS. CARTER.
WILLIAM FRENCH.

"To Commodore EDMUND P. KENNEDY,
Commanding East India Station,
U. S. Ship Peacock."

CHAPTER XXII.

SKETCHES IN THE CALIFORNIAS.

November, 1836.

Upper California is but little known. It extends from the forty-second parallel of north latitude as far south as San Diego, lat. 32° 39′, N., and possesses a coast of five hundred and sixty-one miles. Its breadth is not defined. Lower California includes from the parallel of San Diego, all the peninsula which forms the gulf of California, or, as it is sometimes called by the old Spanish historians, the Red Sea of Cortès. The southern cape of the peninsula is San Lucas, situated on the parallel of 22° 44′ north latitude, and on the meridian of 109° 54′ west from Greenwich.

This country is named upon the ancient maps, *New Albion*, *Caroline Islands*, and *California*. The last is the most ancient, and that which it still retains. For the name of New Albion, the country is indebted to Sir Francis Drake, who visited it in 1577, while performing his second voyage

round the world. The name of Islas Carolinas or Caroline Isles was bestowed a hundred years afterwards in compliment to the King of Spain, Don Carlos the Second, because it was generally believed, until the year 1700, that California was one of a group of islands. At that period the Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino, a Jesuit missionary, discovered in one of his laborious excursions, that it is a peninsula.

Under the belief that California was a large island of a group, it was spoken of in the plural; but the name Californias now includes the two divisions known as Upper and Lower California.*

"Delighted would I be," says the Padre Venegas, "to inform the curious, the origin and etymology of a name, which either from the extravagance of its sound, or the echo of real misfortune, or the fame of wealth, has become memorable in New Spain, and even in Europe. But I can only declare, that in no one of the native languages could the missionaries discover that any similar name is given to the land, nor to any bay, harbour, or place in it. Yet I cannot adopt the etymology which some would assign, supposing the name was given by the Spaniards, who, experiencing, as is affirmed, an extraordinary heat on their first entry,

* Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal y espiritual hasta el tiempo presente. Sacada de la historia manuscrita, formada en Mexico, ano de 1739; por el Padra Miguèl Venegas, &c. Madrid, 1757.

called the country *California* from the Latin words, *calida fornax*—hot oven. I fear, however, that few will be disposed to accord so much grace in learning to the conquerors; and although Bernal Diaz del Castillo does not deny to Cortês the rare accomplishments among his companions of being a Latinist, a poet, and a bachelor in laws, we do not find that either he or his captains were in the habit of naming their discoveries after this plan. I judge, therefore, that this name had its origin in some accident, as might very well happen, such as among others, the words of the Indians badly comprehended by the Spaniards, as occurred in the name of Peru."

About the year 1522, after Montezuma had succumbed to the prowess of his arms and art, Hernan Cortès heard that the land terminated not far off, and did not doubt, but that the great South Sea which washed its shores, led by a short route to the Spice Islands of the East, a great object of the adventure and enterprise of the times. He at once directed the building of two caravels and two brigs, and caused the sails, rigging, pitch, anchors, and all the necessary apparatus for ships, to be transported overland from Vera Cruz, a distance of two hundred leagues to Zacatula, where every thing perishable was lost in a conflagration. But this misfortune could not turn from its purpose the energetic mind of the conqueror of Mexico. Accordingly, we find him writing from Temixtitan,

or Mexico, on the 15th of October, 1524, informing the Emperor Charles V., that he had already vessels constructed in the South Sea, which he designed to send in the month of July, of that year, to examine the coasts, north and south, with a hope of discovering the Strait of Magellan. At the same time he despatched vessels to examine the eastern coast of Mexico from Panuco to Florida.*

Two or three expeditions proved to be failures from a want of harmony among the officers, and in one vessel the commander, Becerra, was murdered by the pilot Ortùn Ximenez. Afterwards the vessel reached a bay called Santa Cruz, supposed to be in the gulf of California, where Ximenez and twenty other Spaniards were killed by the natives. The sailors returned with the vessel to Chiametlà, announcing a populous land whose shores abounded in beds of glittering pearls.

Firmly persuaded in his opinion, that the Moluccas were not far distant from the western coast of Mexico, and between it and those he must discover rich islands and fertile lands, he resolved to make, in spite of all his misfortunes, a last attempt, but no longer to confide the enterprise to his captains. He announced his intended expedition, and immediately crowds of Spaniards flocked to his standard to follow the great conqueror. He directed three vessels which had been launched at

* Cartas de Cortès, in Barcia's Collection.

Tehuantepec, to be armed and fitted, in a style which showed that he was to command. He ordered them to Chiametlà and went thither himself by land, accompanied by soldiers, clergymen, and emigrants with their families. The vessels arrived at Chiametlà, and that of Ortùn Ximenez, which was found upon the coast stripped of every thing, was also fitted. Cortès embarked with as many people as the vessels would contain, leaving the remainder in charge of Andres de Tapia. He directed his course to the northward, and entered the gulf, which was called the Sea of Cortès, and sought the place where the Indians had killed Ortùn Ximenez, and landed on the first day of May, 1536. He named it Santa Cruz, and it is supposed to be the same known now as La Paz. He ordered the vessels back for those who had been left behind at Chiametlà, and they arrived after much suffering, almost exhausted from hunger, and found the soldiers in little better condition, as the country presented a steril and ungrateful soil, yielding nothing for the sustenance of man. In such a strait Cortès did not long hesitate which course to adopt, but at once set sail in search of some who had been lost, and says Gomarra, crossing the sea, run down fifty leagues of its coast. After encountering many obstacles he found those whom he sought, and returned, after innumerable difficulties to the aid of the bay of Santa Cruz, where he found some had already

perished of famine, and many died after his arrival from over-eating. Then, says Bernal Diaz del Castillo, to avoid the sight of so much misery, Cortès set out in search of other lands.

In the mean time it was rumoured in New Spain, that Cortès had been murdered, and it was said, that all the Mexican Caciques intended to rebel, as his presence alone kept them in subjection. The Marquesa Dona Juana de Zuniga, daughter of the Conde de Aguilàr, niece of the Duke of Bejar and second wife of Cortès, despatched a caravel in search of him, and a request that he would return. Immediately afterwards she sent two other vessels with letters, from herself, the Audiencia and the Viceroy Don Antonia Mendoza, in which they set forth the necessity of his presence in New Spain, as well for its tranquillity and good government, as to send the necessary succour, demanded by Francisco Pizarro, from Lima, where he was surrounded by innumerable hostile Indians. They besought him and even ordered him to return, which Cortès himself desired; for he was weary with contending in vain against sea and land, convinced, in spite of himself, that the great soldier on land cannot be the same also at sea. Perhaps he rejoiced to have so honourable a motive for abandoning an enterprise in which he had staked his credit, and returned to Acapulco in the beginning of the year 1537. He left Francisco Ulloa in charge of the people at Santa Cruz, who, seeing

that it was impossible to colonize or even maintain themselves in the country, soon deserted and also returned to Acapulco.

In May, 1537, Cortès sent three vessels under the command of Francisco Ulloa, to follow up the coast. They proceeded as far up the gulf as 32° N. latitude; and returned, having seen nothing but barren hills and an inhospitable waste. In these fruitless expeditions the viceroy expended no less than 200,000 ducats.

In spite of failures and innumerable misfortunes, the spirit of adventure and the hope of wealth kept up for nearly two centuries a succession of enterprises for discovery and conquest in California. Cortès employed all his talents and energies on several occasions; many private individuals followed his example; governors, admirals, and viceroys were enlisted, and even the crown of Spain was finally drawn into preparing expeditions for the same purpose, but they all resulted in nothing.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionaries determined upon the spiritual conquest of a land, which had so long and so effectually resisted the temporal power. Accordingly, after several years of preparation, in obtaining a licence from the crown, two padres with a small escort set sail and landed in California on the 10th of October, 1697, a little to the northward of Loreto. After a long and painful en-

durance of privation and numerous strifes with the Indians, they succeeded in establishing two or three mission stations, which in the course of time became more numerous, and spread over the whole country, and at the time of the South American revolution might be considered in a tolerably flourishing condition; but that event has paralyzed the efforts of the church, and the missions are almost altogether abandoned.

Lower California is very thinly peopled. The soil is steril, and badly watered, and no mines of importance have as yet been discovered. Its commerce is next to nothing. A few small craft visit San Lucas and La Paz, but they obtain very little; even the water found at these ports is brackish and unwholesome.

On one occasion a missionary chided the Indians for their misconduct at mass, threatening them with the flames of hell, which he depicted in glowing language. To all this, one of the Indians remarked, that hell must be a well-wooded country to keep so great a fire; and in this respect, at least, a far more desirable land than California.*

* Noticia de California, por el padre Miguèl Venegas.

SKETCHES IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER XXIII.

November, 1836.

On the 12th of November, we anchored in the roads of Mazatlàn, lat. 23° 10′, N. long. 106° 21′ W.*

The anchorage is about a mile and a half from the town, in an open roadstead which is obnoxious to gales from the south-east, from June until December. The rainy season sets in about the month of June, and continues through July, August, and September, and sometimes October, during which period it is very unhealthy, particularly at the close of the rains, when the sun shines upon the low plains and swamps of the neighbourhood. At this season, all those whose circumstances permit, retreat from Mazatlàn to the mountainous regions of the interior. For this

* This part of the coast is very inaccurately laid down on the charts. The latitude above given is not far from the truth, though the chart places it in 23° 18′.

reason the population fluctuates from two to seven thousand.

There were two Mexican schooners of war in the roads, their colours at half mast in token of the nation's sorrow and sympathy for the discomfiture and imprisonment of General Santa Anna, in Texas. But as far as we could ascertain, the General is very unpopular in all this section of Mexico.

We learned that Captain Hollins, in the Enterprise, arrived here on the 29th of October, and had sailed on the sixth of November, for the port of Guaymas, up the gulf of California, in pursuance of the recommendation of the following letter, thinking that he would be able to return before our arrival at this place. But after contending several days against the wind, which blew strongly down the gulf, he was compelled to return, but did not reach the anchorage before our departure.

"CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA,
Port of Mazatlàn,
October 29, 1836.

"SIR,

"The arrival of the U. States Schooner, Enterprise, under your command, affords me an opportunity that has long been wanting, to recommend to you the propriety of extending your visit to the port of Guaymas, where the flag of

none of our vessels of war has ever yet been seen, and where there is a field gradually opening to the commerce and manufactures of the country.

"I avail myself of this occasion, to express to you the great pleasure which your arrival in this port has afforded us, and to hope that henceforth the visits of our national vessels will not be so few and far between.

"I have the honour to remain,
With sentiments of respect and esteem,
Your most obedient servant,
SAMUEL W. TALBOT,
Acting Consul, U. S. of America.

"To CAPT. GEORGE N. HOLLINS,
U. S. Schooner Enterprise."

Though we find Mazatlàn mentioned by writers more than a hundred years ago, its commercial importance dates its origin only about twelve years back. It is built upon a sandy plain, broken by small lagoons, and sheltered on the north by a high hill. It is situated on the margin of a pretty bay, which abounds in fish; but it is rendered inaccessible except to very small vessels, by a sand bar which stretches entirely across its entrance, and upon which, in gales, the sea breaks violently.

The houses are all white, one story high, and built of adobes. The style of architecture is that which is common in all parts of Spanish America.

A large proportion of the inhabitants are lodged in straw cabins, and live almost without what we consider the common necessaries of life. Water is not easily procurable for ships, and fruit and vegetables are extremely scarce; pumpkins, beans and bananas are the only things of the sort found in the market.

Since the year 1824 or 1825 a very lucrative trade has been carried on at Mazatlàn in American and European goods, which are consumed by the inhabitants of the departments of Cinalao and Sonora, who are chiefly miners. The only exports are silver in bullion and a small quantity of Brazil wood.

We found two American merchants established in this miserable spot, and during our stay we had every reason to be gratified by the hospitable attentions extended to us. Early on a Sunday morning, the day after our arrival, one of these gentlemen sent on board to request me to visit a lady who was dangerously ill, and whose case admitted of no delay. I accompanied the messenger on shore, and to the house of the patient. I was received by the family in the drawing-room, and at their request read a short statement of the case, which had been prepared by the attending physician. From it, I at once decided in my mind that the lady, a sister-in-law of a distinguished Mexican General, must be in a very critical situation, if not beyond the art of medicine. She was young and

handsome, the idol of her friends, and had been married scarcely a year. After reading the statement, which was in itself enough to convict the writer of gross malpractice, I was requested to see the patient.

I followed to a door, which, on knocking gently, was opened just wide enough for a young man to pass out his head. On perceiving me, he opened it, and admitted me; but turned away the patient's sister, who had been my conductor. At first, I could scarcely see where I was, and some moments elapsed before I had gained my sight. I then found myself in a closed room, dimly lighted by a slender tallow candle. I was seated with the doctor near a handsomely curtained bed. At the opposite end of the apartment, two or three females, probably neighbours, were speaking very cheerfully in loud whispers.

After taking two or three hearty puffs at his cigar, as if to ensure its inflammation while talking, the doctor went on to state in prolix detail, that his patient, who had been *en cinta* for eight months, was attacked four or five days previously with ague and fever, and, seeing no other possible means of relieving her of the disease, he had resorted to mechanical means and provoked parturition. This part of the treatment had been easily accomplished, but, *by chance*, the fever became remittent, and then continued, accompanied by mania and convulsions.

When he concluded the history, I inquired, "Well, sir, how is the lady now?"

"Why, man, she died two hours ago, in frightful convulsions!"

"The family does not know it?"

"No, Senor, and I do not intend to tell them yet."

I was silent in astonishment. As the doctor ceased speaking, he rose and requested me to look for myself. I followed to the bed. He raised the curtain, and with perfect sang froid filliped the nose of his late patient. I beheld the body of the deceased, bearing evident signs of a violent death. The arms had been blistered from the wrists to the shoulders, and the doctor declared that he had applied blisters wherever he could possibly place them; "but as you see, Senor, it was no use," shrugging his shoulders, drawing down the corners of his mouth, and throwing his head on one side, by which peculiar gesture he designed to say he had done his best, and there was no help.

He then stated, that in order to spare the family the shock which they must experience, to be suddenly informed of the lady's death, he wished to impart to them the sad intelligence by degrees. I was too much disgusted to speak, but left the apartment, followed by the professional man. The family awaited us in the drawing-room, and by looks rather than words, inquired my opinion. I

could only regret I had arrived at too late a period to be of any service.

"It is my opinion," interrupted the doctor, "that there is no hope—indeed, the disease has reached a crisis. You see there was (counting on his fingers), first, intermittent fever, then remittent fever, then continued fever, upon which supervened gastritis, enteritis, hepatitis, peritonitis and a nervous grade of typhus fever, for which the most active stimulants were indicated. This you know, Senor, is a critical day, the ninth, and it is my settled opinion that she must die precisely at eleven o'clock." It was then nine. I said not a word, but took my leave, filled with disgust and indignation at the barefaced ignorance and knavish effrontery practised before me.

The prognostic of the doctor, very much to his credit, of course proved true; and about twelve o'clock invitations were issued to attend the funeral, to take place at sunset the same day. About five o'clock P. M. a number of gentlemen, all neatly dressed in black, gathered in front of the house, each one armed with a spermaceti candle.

At the appointed hour the body was placed upon a bedstead, very tastefully ornamented with black plumes, flowers, and white lace, and borne on men's shoulders to the place of interment, preceded by a large company of gentlemen, but no ladies. They formed a single file on each side of the street, each bearing a candle, which was now

lighted. The burial-ground was half a mile distant. It was just sunset. No priest was present to perform the service of the dead, and it is very remarkable, that in a Catholic town, where the population was estimated at four thousand, there is neither priest nor church. The remains of the lady were deposited in solemn silence on a hill-side, and after the grave was filled up, the company dispersed.

The sabbath is in no manner observed at Mazatlàn, unless it be that the evening is devoted to the fandango, which is publicly danced beneath a shed in the suburbs, where most of the population resort. The ground is covered by tables of *bonbons*, illuminated by paper lanterns; and what with music, and lights, and dancing, the scene is not wanting either in mirth or interest.

P. S. Since the above was written, the ports of Huatulco Manzanilla, Natividad, Mazatlàn, La Paz, Loreto, San Diego, and San Francisco have been closed to foreign commerce, by a decree of the Mexican government, to take effect six months after March 2nd, 1837.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SKETCHES IN MEXICO.

November, 1836.

At sunset, on the 15th of November, the Peacock got under way; and on the 18th, at half-past eight o'clock A. M., anchored in the roads of San Blas, situated in latitude 21° 30′ north, and 104° 50′ west longitude.

At this point the coast forms a deep bend or cove, but in extent too great to give much shelter to the anchorage, which at certain seasons is considered unsafe. The shore, as far as the eye can reach along the coast, presents a plain, varying from ten to fifteen miles in breadth, and extending between a point a little to the southward of Mazatlàn to Cape Corrientes a distance of nearly two hundred and fifty miles. A chain of mountains, averaging four thousand feet high, forms the limits of the plain on the east, while the west is laved by the waters of the Pacific. It is covered by a luxuriant vegetation and a variety of trees;

and throughout its extent is watered by numerous rivers, the largest called Santiago, which take the irrise in the mountains above alluded to. In many places near the sea, the flooding tide permeates the loose sandy soil, and, rising to the surface, forms marshes and lagoons, which, under a tropical sun, become fruitful sources of miasmatic exhalations. Accordingly, we find, at the conclusion of the rainy season, which is from June until October, that intermittents, dysentery, and typhoid fevers prevail to a great extent, and San Blas is almost entirely deserted.

The town of San Blas is hidden from the anchorage in a forest of closely-growing trees. It is situated about two hundred yards from the landing, which is up a straight or sound, a quarter of a mile from the sea. The houses are generally mean, cheerless huts, and the streets are narrow and sandy. Its population seldom exceeds one thousand souls.

The view from the ship is pleasant; the leafy green of the plain, bounded by long white sand beaches, broken occasionally by rocky hills, rising from the surface, and the mountains in the back ground, half concealed in vapoury clouds, form a scene far more cheerful than that at Mazatlàn.

The shores abound in a great variety of beautiful shells. The *Venus dione* is found in great numbers; and the common people, as well as

some intelligent foreigners, state that they are found in greater abundance in some seasons than in others. Of this fact there seems to be little question; and we might infer therefrom that they are migratory in their habits and resort to the shores for the purpose of procreation.

The commerce of the place, being the chief port of the department of Guadalaxara, which contains a large population, is considerable. Its exports consist entirely of bullion, which is smuggled on board of English men-of-war, one visiting the port yearly about the month of February for the purpose.

In the prosperous days of the Mexican viceroys, San Blas, known in early times, probably, as the port of Xalisco, was of considerable importance. It had a dock-yard, and arsenals provided with stores for building and refitting vessels, the ruins of which establishment are still seen. But it was not until after the commencement of the revolution of Mexico that it enjoyed any commercial consideration. When Vera Cruz and the Atlantic ports were in the power of the Spaniards, in order to supply themselves with foreign productions, the patriots opened a trade from Chagres and Porto Bello, overland to Panamà, and thence to San Blas, whence goods were transported to Tepic, Guadalaxara, Mexico, and indeed throughout the Republic. This overland commerce was extensive, and in order to lessen the cost of goods to

the consumer, the ports of Mazatlàn and Guaymas were resorted to by many vessels. But as the state of things which led to this indirect commerce no longer exists, the value and extent of the trade have dwindled away, because the population of the districts of Mexico bordering the Pacific is too small, too poor, and too little refined, to consume any considerable supplies, brought direct from India and China, or around Cape Horn. Two or three entire cargoes a year would probably supply the demand; more than this would scarcely yield a profit.

One of the objects of our visit to San Blas, was to land an officer who had been long in ill health. He was too feeble to sit a horse or mule, and it was therefore necessary that he should be transported to Tepic in a litter. After some little difficulty, we mustered twelve men, who agreed to carry the litter for one hundred and eight dollars, though they were then idle, and usually worked for less than a dollar a day, they thought nine times this sum was small compensation for two days' labour.

On Saturday the 19th of November, at twenty minutes past two o'clock P. M., we set off. The road led over a plain, many places knee deep in mu and water; at best it is only a rough bridle-path, shaded by the branches of trees, thickly growing on each side, and interlocking overhead. At night we were favoured by a bright

moon, but this did not protect us from disagreeable incidents. Sand-flies and musquitos assailed us from all sides, and in one place we rode a mile through a swamp knee deep to the horses. Here one of the baggage-mules strayed into the thicket, which caused some delay. The woods rang with the maledictory shouts of the muleteer and the encouraging cries of the litter-bearers, and for twenty minutes the sand-flies and musquitos performed their *divertissemens piquans*, much to our annoyance and expense. At last the mule made his appearance, moving at a leisurely pace, in spite of cudgeling and curses, which, from long habit, he had learned to bear with meek indifference.

It was now eight o'clock at night, and we again moved on, encouraged by the declarations of the muleteer, as well as of the guide, that we had not more than a league aad a half to ride, before we should reach the halting-place for the night. We crossed a deep brook, and found ourselves on firmer ground and a better road; and, with the view of making all ready for the reception of our sick friend, pushed on at a trot. This league and a half led us past several ranchos, where we were saluted by dogs; and it was eleven o'clock before we reached what is termed the Rancho de Manuela, a miserable farm-house, where travellers usually stop, but where they obtain very little accommodation. We entered the ruined gate, and found several men, rolled in their sarapes

—a long poncho—sleeping on the ground in front of the house. At a few yards distant from them, was placed a number of pack-saddles, ranged in regular lines, guarded by dogs. We were directed to call at a hut of the establishment, on our right, where the hostess had retired for the night. Our guide explained our situation and our wants, and after some little delay she opened the door—a fat, nut-brown widow of forty—and issued forth with a candle in her hand, which, for a moment, she held above her head to see what manner of guests we were, and then crossed the area to the main building. We found two or three stout muleteers asleep in the apartment, but the hostess compelled them to vacate in our favour, and then retired, leaving us the light. Antonio, our guide, a thin-visaged, half Indian person, bustled about, unsaddled our horses, and made a fire; and soon after the arrival of our sick friend, gave us some tea and fresh eggs, which, added to sundries from our scrip, furnished forth no despicable repast to men whose appetite had grown on a long fast, stimulated by a ride of ten leagues.

The floor was the hard-beaten earth. Our apartment contained, besides a rude table and three or four heavy chairs, three broad platforms, which were to be our beds, unless we came provided. It was long past midnight before we retired, and when the candle was extinguished, the moon found her way through the walls, which were composed of upright posts, driven into the ground.

Our beds were hard; the air was rather cool; musquitos, sand-flies, and fleas, were heard and felt; yet, in spite of all, we fell asleep, lulled by the sound of our horses and mules, discussing their fodder and corn only a few feet from us.

At four o'clock the next morning, the watchful Antonio brought a light, and roused us to prepare to set forward again. A breakfast of Pouchong and eggs, fresh as the morning, and boiled not a single bubble too much, was placed before us; and by the time we had finished our meal, and got the horses saddled, the moon and stars had faded from the skies, and it was broad daylight. Our sick friend set forward in his litter, and we remained to bring up the baggage-mules.

The muleteers were now on their feet; and while some were rubbing sleep from their eyes, others were loading their beasts. Close to a shed, near the gate, stood a well-conditioned mule, with the reins hanging on the ground, looking as if he had been unwillingly deprived of slumber. The trappings and ornamented caparisons of the animal showed that the master was a man well to do in the world, and who cared a good deal for comfort and something for appearances. Presently, he issued from the rancho, and stood smoking a paper cigar, the end bent downwards, while he cast a thoughtful glance towards the rising sun. This individual was not more than five feet six inches in height, but well proportioned, and his frame promised strength and activity. A broad-brimmed,

low-crowned hat of felt, ornamented by three turns of a jaunty gold cord, shaded a deeply bronzed face. His eyes were sharp, and surmounted by heavy black brows; the upper lip sustained proudly a pair of curling mustaches, and the growth upon his chin indicated that he had been on the road more than a day. The costume was to us novel. A jacket of embossed russet leather, very short in its fashion, ornamented with silver buttons; a pair of overalls of the same material, cut at bottom so wide as to be the length of the foot, were sustained by a red silk sash above the waist, allowing the shirt to appear between it and the jacket, and a pair of huge silver spurs rattled at his heels. A long straight sword hung from hip to heel, which might have served a Paladin; it was evidently for service; the scabbard was of plain black leather, and a thong or noose of the same, to secure it to the waist, swung from the hilt.

"I should expect to find a bandit in such a man," said my companion; and I wonder what he could be waiting for. At that moment he made a slight salutatory inclination of the head. I advanced towards him, saying, "You have a fine macho there, Senor?"

"Yes, Senor, the beast is not a bad one, and—raising his hat high above his head—very much at your service."

After accepting his invitation to take "un traguìto de mascàl por las nieblas de la manaṭa—a

small swallow of mascal for the morning fogs," he informed me in the course of conversation, that he resided near Tepic, and was on his way to Santiago, with his mules, laden with corn. He kindly suggested that we should stop at his house to rest, and requested that we would demand there whatever we might desire.

Our muleteer had already disappeared up the mountain-side, and Antonio called us to mount. We obeyed the summons, and, receiving the god-speed of the traveller, followed. The character of the road had entirely changed. The path, still shaded by trees, chiefly of the Acacia tribe, was rugged, and frequently interrupted by boulders of porphyritic stone. Our progress was necessarily slow, and gave us full time to listen to the stories of Antonio, or the song of our muleteer, in which he frequently stopped short to bestow a blow of his cudgel, and some round objurgations, to mend the pace of his mules. In spite of all his epithets and beating, the animals were stimulated only for a short time, and relapsing into their leisurely steps, again required their application.

Antonio rode on before, mounted upon a thin gray mare. His entire dress consisted of a pair of duck trousers, a cotton shirt which revealed his tawny skin in several places about the shoulders, and a broad-brimmed hat slouched over his face. His stirrups were very short; one naked heel was armed with an iron spur, which was pretty con-

stantly used, and he seemed buried almost to the shoulders in bags and cloaks, and bottles, that were secured to the saddle. I soon discovered that Antonio was the only leech in San Blas, and possessed of all the gossip of the road. Every one who met us seemed right glad to see him, and saluted him with the kindly appellation of "compadre"—friend or god-father. We passed many rude crosses, set up on heaps of stones by the way-side, to commemorate the perpetration of murder on the spot, and Antonio was ever ready to recount the history of these sad events, the most recent of which had taken place more than fifteen years back, at a time when this road, called El Espino, was frequently travelled by mules laden with treasure.

Though we frequently descended into valleys, the ascent was continuous. At eleven o'clock A. M. we entered a scattering village, named La Presa, or Rancho de Gutierrez, situated in a barren vale; and here it was determined, that we should breakfast. But the place could boast no inn, no house of common resort, and in order to find some spot where to bivouac, Antonio rode from hut to hut, inquiring whether they had any eggs, and at each one generally obtained a few. When his hat was full, he halted before a rancho, which promised most accommodation, and requested permission to cook the eggs as well as to take shelter beneath a

shed of thatch in front. This was hospitably conceded, and we at once dismounted.

The host and hostess were sitting upon a dry bull-hide spread on the ground, alternately scrutinizing each other's heads, while their fingers held aside their uncombed locks to facilitate the operation. Both rose, and the man brought us seats, while the woman, more thoughtful of our wants, called two or three boys, and with their aid succeeded in cornering two or three half-grown chickens, which she speedily had frying over a fire. By the time our sick friend had come up, breakfast was ready, but the house furnished forth few appliances of the table; one tumbler, one tea-cup, two knives, and half a dozen plates, being all we could muster. While eating, a number of lank curs gathered around, and almost took the food from the table in spite of us. The misery of the poor in Spanish countries may be estimated with tolerable accuracy, by the number of dogs they entertain.

No sooner had the litter-bearers arrived, than they sat down upon the ground a few feet from us, and made their breakfast of thin cakes of maize, tortillas, and charque—jerked beef—toasted over a fire. These provisions each one had tied in a handkerchief; and the bundles were all carried together in panniers on a jackass. When they had finished their humble fare, they stretched

themselves on the ground in the shade, smoked paper cigars, and chatted cheerfully, till they fell asleep.

Just as we finished our meal, a lieutenant of the Mexican army, attended by a servant and a lancer, rode up to the hut and requested to be accommodated with breakfast. The costume of Mexico is picturesque. This gentleman wore a broad-brimmed glazed hat, with a silver stud upon one side of it, a short jacket, a pair of overalls trimmed with round silver buttons from the hips to the heels, which were armed with large spurs. No sooner had he alighted than these were removed by his servant. The horses were unsaddled, and the party sat down and began smoking paper cigars. He had left Tepic four hours before, and was on his way to Santiago. He remarked, that in order to avoid the bad effects of the cold mountain winds upon our sick friend, we ought not to enter Tepic in the evening, and if we were forced to do it, we should be "medio trastornado de aguardiente—half upset with brandy."

At one o'clock we again set off, leaving the Mexican at breakfast, and soon began to ascend the side of a barren hill. Halfway up we passed a collection of huts, called "el pueblo de Lajitas." The road was now much more frequented, and we met numbers of droves of mules laden with corn. One mule at least in each drove carried a small stone tray, used in making tortillas, having legs of

such length that when set upon a level, the tray itself stood at an inclined plane with the horizon. Later in the evening we saw the bivouacs of the muleteers by the road; the pack-saddles were ranged in a row by the way-side, and while the men were caring for their mules or lying on the ground smoking paper cigars, the women were making tortillas.

To make tortillas, almost the only bread used in this part of the country, the corn is first infused in cold water with a small portion of lime, to remove the outer coat or pericarp. It is then placed upon the stone tray, and the woman kneeling in front, by the aid of a stone cut for the purpose, reduces it to a paste, which is then beaten to a proper thickness between the palms, and baked upon a stone girdle.

When we reached the summit of the hill upon which Lajitas is situated, we looked back, and being at least three thousand feet above the level of the sea, had a bird's-eye view of the plain we had traversed the evening before. It appeared of a dark green, with here and there a patch of white sand, or a silvery thread of water meandering towards the sea. One or two islands upon the coast were dimly seen, and the horizon seemed to be formed in a line whereon were blended the plain, the ocean, and the sky.

The valleys in sight now began to wear the smiling features of cultivation, and Palo Alto and

La Meda, two picturesquely-situated hamlets, presented a cheerful and comparatively thriving appearance. The little fruit-shops and tippling-shops were open; the usual work was going forward; and nothing indicated that the day was the sabbath. We now came in sight of a depression or gap in the mountain-chain—in the Alps termed a *col*—through which the road disappeared from our view. On our right the mountain of San Juan rose slopingly, perhaps, two thousand five hundred feet above the road, but the elevation to the left was very much less. The peak of San Juan was clothed in green to its summit, which is, according to Captain Beechey, by trigonometrical measurement six thousand two hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea. Just beyond this *col*, Antonio informed us, was Tepic, and as we had ridden at a pretty good pace, we were in advance of our sick friend. We therefore halted, and sat down by the road-side, where Antonio interested us for an hour with a detailed account of a French seaman, whom I had seen at San Blas. He had been disemboweled by a knife, in an affray with a Mexican, three weeks before, and the intestine had not been replaced. Antonio declared that he did not know what to do in such a case, but knowing that brandy was good for fresh wounds, he had washed this one freely, and bound it up with a bandage; but the Frenchman, impatient of the pain, very soon removed it. When I saw the case, it was in my opinion hopeless.

At sunset my sick friend came up, and we pushed on. The moon, nearly at her full, rose very clear, and when we descended upon the plain of Tepic, I was almost certain we were riding upon a bed of chalk. We were informed that it was marl. The road was crossed in several places by broad ravines, from twenty to forty feet in depth, with perpendicular sides, which had been formed, evidently, by torrents. In one or two places, the road ran along the bottom of these ravines for a mile. In passing the *col*, or mountain gap, the soil was softer than it was in any part of the road which approached San Juan from San Blas, after leaving La Presa. This would seem to be in accordance with the remarks of Mr. Robert Blakewell in relation to the Alps.*

When about three miles off, we saw a white haze, which Antonio said hung over the town. At seven o'clock we entered Tepic, and were followed by hundreds of dogs, all barking and growling, and snapping at our horses' heels, as we rode through the streets to the corner of the plaza, where we were hospitably received and entertained in the house of our countryman, Mr. J. L. Kennedy. Our sick friend had not suffered by the journey, which by the road of El Espino is at least seventy miles. The other road, called Los palos de tres Marias, is fifty miles; but is so narrow that a litter could not pass. The bearers had kept

* Blakewell's Geology, p. 353. New Haven, 1833.

up with us remarkably well, and on their arrival manifested signs of very little fatigue.

The city of Tepic stands on a plain, forming the bottom of a plateau or basin, nearly surrounded by mountains. The soil is fertile, and the surrounding scenery agreeable. The city, according to Captain Beechey, is two thousand nine hundred feet above the sea, in 21° 30′ 42″ north latitude, and twenty-two miles in a direct line to the eastward of San Blas, though more than double that distance by either road. At present, it is estimated to contain from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants. The streets are paved, and cross at right angles. Most of the houses are but one story high. The plaza, or public square, has a portico on one side of it, and the church on the other, and is ornamented by trees and stone seats in their shade. The town contains a theatre and a cock-pit, and the people are famed for hospitality and sociability.

Tepic was founded towards the close of the seventeenth century, at the time of establishing the dock-yard or marine department at San Blas, as a place of resort for the officers during the rainy and sickly seasons. But Tepic does not boast a climate remarkable for salubrity. There are several swamps and lagoons in its vicinity, and, at certain seasons, it is obnoxious to marsh fevers of a typhoid character, intermittents and dysenteries. Yet at a short distance of two

leagues, there is an ancient Indian village, Xalisco, which is so healthy as to be the resort of invalids from Tepic. The temperature at this season ranges from 60° to 70° F.

The day of our arrival was a feast day of the church, and the whole world had gone to Xalisco to celebrate it in a bull-bait and ball; and the next day being rainy they did not return, so we saw Tepic under unfavourable circumstances. The following day, however, we rode to Xalisco. We mounted at six o'clock A.M. and found the morning pleasant, and the ride agreeable. At the entrance of the village we passed the plaza de toros, which had been temporarily erected for the occasion, of palm leaves and branches; and if we may believe those who were present, answered the purpose of the entertainment admirably well. We visited the church, and were showed a stone in the wall, bearing a very perfect foot track, which is said to be that of San Matias. This impression was probably made when the stone, the character of which was concealed beneath a coat of whitewash, was soft.

The population of Xalisco does not exceed fifteen hundred. It is pleasantly situated, and is supplied with water from a mountain by a wooden conduit, several miles in length, supported on posts about five feet high.

We breakfasted with the British consul, Mr. Barron, and his interesting family, and at twelve o'clock took leave of them, regretting that we

were not allowed a longer time to enjoy their very agreeable society. In order to spare our horses, Mr. Barron very kindly sent us to town in his carriage, drawn by seven mules, guided by two postilions.

At two o'clock, P. M., we took leave of Tepic, returned by the shorter road of Los Palos, and reached Manuela at eight o'clock. We found a party of muleteers in the apartment we had occupied in the rancho, gambling at cards for copper cuartillos, the fourth part of twelve and a half cents. Our hostess cleared the apartment, telling them, that some "caballeros decentes—decent gentlemen," wanted it. They retreated, muttering a little, but were speedily seated round a dry bull hide upon the ground in the open air, where they resumed their game by the dim light of a tallow candle. The lady of Manuela made very kind inquiries about our sick friend, and soon gave us a very good supper, after which we retired to sleep without bed or bedding. The blithe humour of the hostess encouraged me to beg something to make my bed on the boards a little more comfortable, and she cheerfully complied with the request, remarking, at the same time, that we ought never to travel without a blanket or a sarape at least. She departed, and in a few minutes returned with a bull hide, which she spread on the boards for a bed, and over it a sarape. It is true I fell asleep in spite of fleas, sand flies, and mos-

quitos, and the incessant champ, champ, of our horses feeding close at hand; but in the morning I was not clearly satisfied that a dry bull hide is a better bed than a soft plank.

At four o'clock the next morning we were on the road. It had rained heavily in the night; the moon had not yet set, and we travelled by her light until her beams were dissipated by those of the morning sun. After a ride of ten leagues we reached San Blas, at ten o'clock, A.M., and at once embarked.

CHAPTER XXV.

SKETCHES IN MEXICO.

December, 1836.

On the 23rd of November, at one o'clock, P. M., we made sail for Acapulco, in order to fill up with water, which on no other part of this coast is to be had without difficulty; here it is of an excellent quality and easily obtained.

The winds were light, and we had occasional showers. On the 2nd of December, we were becalmed in sight of the shore, which, close to the sea was richly verdant in cultivated fields, and in the rear, the mountains rose at least 10,000 feet high. At half past eleven o'clock the next morning, we anchored in the harbour of Acapulco, so celebrated in the palmy days of Spain, as the port of her richly freighted galeons, that swept the Pacific between Mexico and Manilla. The season of their arrival and sojourn here, was held as a fair, at which assembled the wealthy and the beautiful from all parts of Mexico. Here the silver of

her mines and the cochineal of her fields of cactus were exchanged for the spices and muslins of India, the silks and fabrics of China, and the tobacco of the Philippines. On those occasions the little town of Acapulco was enlivened by feasts and dancing, and all was holyday. But Time, which changes all things, has also changed this. Since 1817, no galeon has appeared in this beautiful bay, which is shut in from all winds by mountains of granite, several hundred feet high. Their sides are clothed in the richest green; and the margins of these ever peaceful waters abound in an almost endless variety of moluscous animals. Since the commencement of the revolution, Acapulco has been the scene of a constant succession of war, siege, and famine; and at present its commerce is at the lowest ebb, being seldom visited except by a few trifling coasters.

The town, which is surrounded by swamps and stagnant pools in the neighbourhood, is small, miserable, and unhealthy at certain seasons. Its population is now estimated at 3000, which, it is asserted, is greater than it ever was, at any time, previous to the political separation of Mexico from Spain. With a few exceptions, the inhabitants are descended from Chinese, Malays, Mexican aborigines, negroes, and Europeans, all promiscuously mingled, forming a small feeble race of very poor people.

The place is defended by a castle, which was

once, like all Spanish fortresses, thought to be impregnable; but sieges, earthquakes, and neglect have left it a mere ruin. According to a statement of the governor, the guns were overturned in attempting to return our salute, but we were afterwards told that, after firing seven guns, all the powder was expended, and His Excellency thought it would appear more respectable to say the guns were dismounted, and, therefore, no more could be fired.

Bowditch lays down Acapulco in 16° 55′ N. and 100° 54′ longitude west; but according to our reckoning, it is 16° 51′ 30″ north, and in longitude 100° 8′ west from Greenwich, differing not only from Bowditch but from Arrowsmith's charts, which we found, as well as every one who visits the coast, to be very far in error, not only at this point, but along the whole Mexican coast.

One morning I visited the shore before daylight. The church was open; bells were ringing, and rockets were firing in celebration of the day of "la purisima concepcion." A small altar was placed in the door-way, before which the Cura was officiating in his robes, though the day was not yet fairly broken. More than a hundred people of all ages and sexes, were seen kneeling in groups upon the ground in front of the church; while others, at a little distance, were standing respectfully uncovered, with their ponchos or sarapes closely wrapped about them. Those who were kneeling,

placed their broad felt hats behind them upon their legs; and beside almost every female was a plate containing a few coppers. The picture was filled up by the mules and asses of the market people, standing here and there, half asleep, among the several groups. The service lasted till sunrise, and when it ended with the merry peal of bells, the scene suddenly changed The market people spread out what they had for sale, and the women seized their plates and coppers, and began purchasing, while the men sauntered about smoking cigars.

Smoking tobacco is universal with both sexes. Visiting on one occasion a high officer of the government, I found him and his wife in the same hammock, while the children were running about the room, and all the family smoking. One little girl, only three years and two months old, was smoking a Guayaquil cigar, at least four inches long, and apparently with gusto. I know it is the practice of most travellers to condemn the use of tobacco in all forms in all countries, but I fear their strictures will do little to change a habit which is so universal. Staunton tells us, there is no record of tobacco having been introduced into China, and we are informed that the Portuguese met with it on their first visit to Java. It is now used throughout Asia, Africa, America, and in a great part of Europe. If it were truly indigenous to America alone, it has spread over the world

with an astounding rapidity, for its use is now more general than that of tea. We know that tobacco was first introduced into Europe from America; but it was probably known in Asia long before the voyages of Columbus were undertaken. If smoking cigars be a sin—God help the wicked.

The market of Acapulco affords a variety of vegetables and fruits, as pumpkins, onions, sweet potatoes (which when boiled are of a deep purple colour), tomatoes, peppers, limes, sweet lemons, pineapples, oranges, bananas, melons, guayavas, &c., but not in great abundance, nor at a cheap rate. The beef is good, and the poultry obtained here, for richness of flavour, is probably not equalled in any part of the country.

As at the other ports of Mexico which we had visited, we here found the colours flying at half-mast, in sympathy for the more than half-fallen fortunes of General Santa Ana. Yet to hear some of the Mexicans upon this coast speak of him, one might suppose he had not a friend in the republic.

From the earliest struggle for her independence, Mexico has been unfortunate in her leading men. With some few exceptions, they have proved the hasty exclamation of Dr. Johnson, that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel," to have some foundation in truth. It has but too frequently happened, that not the nation's good, but personal wealth and eclat have been the objects aimed at by this class of men. But they have been often

mal-adroit; and at the moment they fancied themselves on the very brink of fortune, the tyranny and injustice of their acts towards the people have recoiled upon themselves; for there is a point in oppression beyond which the people of no country will bear, and they have been precipitated from the height of power, to expiate their crimes upon a scaffold, or in a gloomy exile. This shows that public virtue still exists, though it struggle with numerous instances of private vice and degeneracy.

But it has not been in her leading men alone that Mexico has been unfortunate. Her custom-house officers are notoriously open to bribes. The duties are so exorbitant on foreign merchandise that no commerce paying them can thrive; and the officers of the customs, aware of this, very patriotically make such arrangements with supercargoes arriving in their ports as will secure a profit to the merchant, and something for the republic, as they emphatically style it, and no less for themselves. The naval and military officers are said to be no less discerning of their own interests at least. I have been assured that commanding officers of marine establishments are wont to sell the public stores in their charge to private vessels, and consider the proceeds as the perquisites of office. Officers of the army commanding posts have done no less. An English gentleman, who has been long in the country, engaged in mining, told me that, on one occasion,

he purchased some powder for blasting, and, in a few minutes afterwards, met the commander of the place, with whom he was on intimate terms.

"Friend," exclaimed the soldier, "in not giving me the preference, you have been ungrateful."

"The preference in what?"

"In the powder."

"I did not know you had powder for sale."

"But I have though, in the arsenal, when a friend wants to buy; I would have sold to you at half price."

A governor of a place on this coast actually offered to sell, to the master of an American merchant-ship, the brass guns of the fortress under his command.

The officers of the Mexican government, along the coast of the Pacific, are generally ignorant, and, in their deportment, tyrannical and overbearing. The Governor of Acapulco is a man who has risen from the rank and file of the army through his personal courage; he can neither read nor write. Public and private virtue, among them, is only a name, but urbanity is every thing. Though the Mexican officer would pillage the government, he would never be guilty of a breach of decorum or etiquette; and, to send him a despatch, written on paper, without a proper margin, the width of which must be one-fourth or one-half of the sheet, according to the rank of

the individual to whom it is addressed, would, probably, wound his honour more than to call him scoundrel, or tweak his nose.

Though this be not the character of the Mexicans in general, it is to be feared that such is its hue in but too many instances. Of course, there are thousands belonging to the republic whose morals are unimpeachable; but such men, I am assured by many who have had ample opportunities of knowing, are not found in the public offices: they live in retirement, lamenting the evils they cannot remedy.

Dark and melancholy is the present condition of Mexico; and the prospect of a better state of things seems to be almost as far distant as at the moment of her first taking up arms. Her limits embrace an extended territory, rich in mineral and agricultural wealth; but the population is lazy, ignorant, and, what is worse, mismanaged. Religion is at a low ebb, and education has not been long enough attended to for its beneficial effects to be sensibly felt. Her trade, compared with what it might be, is nothing. Indeed, it is impossible for the commerce of a state, weighed down by the chains of tyranny and misrule, to flourish amidst disturbances, caused by frequent revolution and anarchy. Industry thrives only when sheltered by peace; she shrinks from servitude. Genius languishes without the incentive of emulation, and expires when deprived of the pabulum of hope. There

can be neither emulation nor hope where propriety and morality are not duly respected. Nothing can be a better eulogium on civil liberty, nor better show the necessity of guarantee to the rights of man than the fact, that it is impossible for man to toil successfully when his labours go solely to enrich hard masters, or tyrannical and impolitic rulers. Then, how can we expect Mexico to prosper till she be regenerated, by education, to a sense of her own condition?

These remarks may be harsh, but the reader will bear in mind they are general, and there are many, very many, bright exceptions to what has been censured. I have aimed at truth, and I believe I have hit the mark; and if I have inflicted a wound on any individual, I can only declare,

"No levell'd malice
Infects one coma in the course I hold——"

CONCLUSION.

CHAPTER XXVI.

November, 1837.

On the 11th day of December, 1836, we set sail from Acapulco, and stood to the southward. The wind was light, the weather rainy and unpleasant, and, a few days after sailing, an epidemic typhoid fever appeared on board, which yielded, in every case, to the plan of treatment adopted. On the 27th we crossed the equator in 88° west longitude, and on the 3rd of January, 1837, anchored at Payta, whence we sailed again on the 5th. After a tedious passage of twenty days, we arrived at Callao, and found that a war was waging between Chile and Peru, and the port blockaded by a Chilian squadron, under the command of Admiral Blanco. Owing to the period of the enlistment of her crew having expired, the U. S. frigate

Brandywine, Commodore Wadsworth, had sailed, a few days previously, for the United States, leaving our interests to the protection of the U. S. schooner Boxer, Lieutenant Commandant, Hugh N. Page, absent on the leeward coast of Peru.

Almost immediately after our arrival at Callao, the following communications were made to Commodore Kennedy, and we were obliged to assume the protection of our interests upon the coast, at a time when all were anxious to return to the United States. But it is vain to complain that a sailor's life is a dog's life, though we feel it so at this moment; for, "cojegera de perro y lagrimas de muger no valen nada."

"LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Lima, January 28, 1837.

"SIR,

"I do myself the honour to lay before you a copy of a letter of this date, addressed to me by the principal commercial houses in this place, requesting my good offices with you to procure a detention of the naval force under your command, until the present difficulties between Chile and Peru are adjusted, or there be a certainty of the early arrival of some other public vessel, competent to afford the necessary protection to our interest here.

"Without entering into all the motives set forth in the letter alluded to, for desiring the presence

of your force, or intending to be understood as fully sanctioning some of them, I most cordially and unhesitatingly join in the request, that, if in your estimation it be not incompatible with other paramount objects of public service (which, under existing circumstances, would seem difficult), you would consent to remain at Callao until the arrival of the expected relief squadron, or of some one or more of its vessels, capable of giving to our valuable interests here the desirable security; and I think, that in sodoing, you will render an important service to our commerce and common country.

"I have the honour to be,
With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
SAMUEL LARNED.

"To Commodore EDMUND P. KENNEDY,
Commanding the U. States Naval
Forces in the Pacific."

"*Lima, January* 28, 1837.

"SIR,

"The arrival of the United States ship Peacock, at a moment so fraught with danger to neutral interests, and when, by the unavoidable departure of the Brandywine, we have been left without any efficient protection for the large amount of American property now on the coast, and shortly expected, induces us to hope, that we will

not again be left unprotected, and that by a representation to Commodore Kennedy, of our situation, and of the state of affairs between Chile and Peru, he will consent to postpone, for the present, his departure from Callao.

"By the last accounts from Valparaiso, war had been declared by Chile against Peru, and we have every reason to fear, that the former will soon endeavour to establish a blockade of the principal Peruvian ports.

"Several Chilian vessels of war are on the coast; some are at anchor in the bay of Callao; others are watching the Peruvian vessels shut up in Guyaquil; so that in case a blockade be declared, we have no hope of its being raised by any force which Peru can now oppose to the enemy's squadron.

"Most of the American vessels trading to this coast, bring a large portion of their cargoes adapted to the Lima market, and some are daily expected known to have valuable cargoes, purchased expressly for this place. If they be turned off from Callao, the goods must be deposited at great expense and imminent risk at other ports; and, perhaps, many of them of a perishable nature, be entirely lost before they can be again brought into this market.

"It is also generally believed, that the French will not allow an immediate blockade;—and we might, in event of being without an efficient naval

force, have the mortification of seeing vessels of other nations convoyed in, and those bearing our flag turned away, for want of a force to cause our rights to be respected. We deem it, moreover, extremely dangerous, at all times, to see many vessels cruising under the flags of these countries; their inability to officer them properly, and pay them punctually, always rendering their neighbourhood a common danger to all who are unprotected, or weaker than themselves.

"We are aware that the Peacock is on her way home, from a long and arduous cruise; that her officers and men had no idea of being detained long here; and that the Commodore must naturally feel most anxious to submit to our government the important results obtained by his cruise. But, at the same time, we are too well aware of his devotedness to the service of his countrymen, to doubt for a moment, his desire of protecting their interests whenever he may find them in danger; and that if it be possible for him to delay his departure from Callao until the difficulties between Chile and Peru be adjusted, or, until there be a certainty of the early arrival of some other American vessel of war, competent to our protection, that he will do so for the reasons already stated.

"It is with this view that we have the honour to address you, and respectfully to request that you will use your exertions with Commodore Kennedy

to induce him to remain, and afford us by his presence the protection so much to be desired for the security of American interests.

"We are, sir, with great respect,
Your most obedient servants,
ALSOP & Co.
EDWARD M'CALL & Co.

"SAMUEL LARNED, Esq.
Chargé d'affaires of the U. S.
near the Government of Peru."

On the 6th of March, the U. S. schooner Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant George N. Hollins, arrived at Callao from Valparaiso, where she arrived on the 6th of February, after a passage of fifty-two days from Acapulco. The Chilian squadron had withdrawn from Callao, and it was thought advisable, that the Peacock should visit Valparaiso. On the 13th of March, she set sail; on the 31st, anchored at the island of Juan Fernandez, and, sailing the next day, anchored at Valparaiso on the 4th of April.

On the 1st of May, we got under way, and, after a boisterous passage, anchored at Pisco on the 18th, and at Callao on the 21st.

In the afternoon of the 26th, the U. S. Ship North Carolina, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Henry E. Ballard, arrived, and we all felt that we should be homeward bound, but fate determined that it should be otherwise. Our ship was required still to remain, for the trial of a sea-

man named Charles Field, who murdered his shipmate Blye Gryle, on board of the U. S. schooner Boxer, on the night of the 28th of February. He was tried, condemned, and executed.

The following letter, which explains itself, was received by Commodore Kennedy, to whose kindness I am indebted for a copy of it.

"United States Ship North Carolina,
Harbour of Callao, June 1st, 1837.

"SIR,

"My absence at Lima on public duty, for a few days past, has deprived me of the honour of sooner acknowledging the receipt of your communication of Saturday last, together with the package left for me by Commodore Wandsworth.

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure afforded by this opportunity of tendering to you my thanks, for the very important service you have rendered our country, in consenting, at the request of our countrymen resident at Lima and at Valparaiso, to assume the command of the naval station, at a moment so important to our commerce in this sea.—And I entertain no doubt but the Honourable the Secretary of the Navy, will have equal pleasure in giving credit where so much is due.

"In the conversation had with you a few days since, I adverted to the possibility of my being constrained, by the urgent solicitations of the merchants of Lima and Valparaiso, to ask your concurrence in the expediency of detaining the

schooner Enterprise on this station; which is rendered, it seems to me, absolutely necessary by the belligerent attitude assumed by the governments of Peru and Chili, towards each other—by the prospect of a blockade of the ports of Peru by the Chilian squadron—and by the unfortunate state of the rudder of this ship; which will preclude the possibility of my going to sea until a piece of timber can be procured from Talcahuano, sufficiently large to repair it, or until I can receive a new one from the United States.

"Under these circumstances I beg leave to ask in all frankness, whether you will have any thing of importance yet to accomplish, on your way homeward, that will be likely to suffer from my detaining the Enterprise in this sea; and whether you will be able to give such of her crew as may be entitled to return to the United States, a passage in your ship.

"Justice and a sense of propriety, seem to demand that the unfortunate man charged with the crime of murder should be brought to trial with as little delay as the nature of the service will allow, as well as that a court competent to try a case of so much importance, should be composed of officers of more rank than those I could control, were you to sail.

"Under such solemn considerations, I deem it a duty I owe to the service as well as to the unfortunate being who is charged with a crime that may touch his life, to take upon myself the re-

sponsibility of detaining your ship for a few days longer, until the arrival of the Boxer, in which vessel are all the witnesses, as well as the person exhibiting the charge.

"In rendering myself thus instrumental in detaining you a few days longer from your country and your friends—I am not without the hope, that the detention may be the means of restoring to better health, those brave fellows under your command, who have suffered so much during a cruise abounding with enterprise, and with suffering.

"I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient servant, with great respect,
HENRY E. BALLARD,
Commodore commanding in Chief the
Naval Forces of the U. S. in the Pacific Ocean.

"COMMODORE E. P. KENNEDY,
Commanding the United States
East India Squadron."

It was determined that the Enterprise should be left under the command of Commodore Ballard. All the necessary changes were made, and, on the 5th of July, the joyful cry of the boatswain, "All hands up anchor for home," sounded through the ship; and, after we were under sail, a thousand voices cheered our parting with loud huzzas from the North Carolina's rigging, and, at sunset, we bade farewell to Callao.

The next day we anchored in the roads of Huacho, and sailed again on the 7th, after com-

pleting our supplies of wood and stock. On the 7th of August we passed the meridian of Cape Horn; and on the 23rd, after a passage of forty-six days, anchored at Rio de Janeiro.

On the 2nd of September we sailed, and arrived at Bahia (or St. Salvador) on the 15th. We again got under way on the 19th, bound directly home. We now became impatient to reach the termination of our toils and privations, which had not been few. Every breeze inspired hope, and was hailed with joy; and every calm cast a gloom almost amounting to despair. Our anxieties and impatience increased as the distance lessened, and the last few days of the voyage round the world were spent in conjecturing and speculating upon the day of arrival. Every heart beat high with hope; yet there was mingled with it an emotion of fear—a foreboding that we might not meet all who were dear to us, as we had left them; eight months had passed since any of us had heard from our friends, and, in that period, how many might not have been swept from among the living? The home-staying can scarcely comprehend the emotions which sway the breast of the sea-weary voyager, as he approaches the coast of his country after years of absence, nor appreciate the gleams of joy shot up from the depths of the heart, at the cheering cry of "Land, ho!"

The long wished-for hour arrived. On the 26th of October we descried the coast of Virginia, and

soon afterwards a graceful pilot-boat caught our view. In an hour more, the pilot came on board, but could give us no information, not even a newspaper, and it was not till the next day the Peacock anchored opposite to the city of Norfolk, after an absence of more than two years and a half.

THE END.

WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND

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